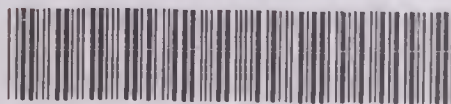


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ISLAND OF PHILÆ

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# ANCIENT EGYPT:

Its Antiquities, Religion, and History,

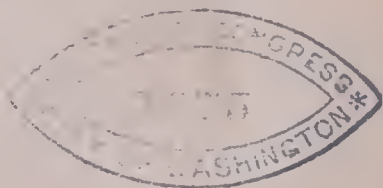
TO THE

CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.

BY THE

REV. GEORGE TREVOR, M.A.,

CANON OF YORK.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THE antiquities of Egypt have been often explored with a view to impeach the accuracy of the Inspired historian. In a climate where the marks of time are too faint to determine the age of ruins by simple inspection, it was easy, before the key to the hieroglyphics was discovered, to confound later monuments with earlier, and to hazard chronological computations, which betrayed their uncertainty by the extraordinary discrepancy of their results. The erections of the Ptolemies were mistaken for those of the Pharaohs, and dates were confidently assigned to the zodiacs which are now incontestably proved to be some thousands of years older than the truth.

The discovery of the Rosetta Stone, with the consequent studies of Young and Champollion, have revolutionized Egyptian history, and caused it to be written anew from the illustrations now supplied by the Monuments. The advantage, however, which might attend the interrogating of these



long speechless witnesses, is still seriously marred by the unceasing desire of the sceptical school to impair the authority of Holy Scripture. The attempt is again made to establish an antiquity for Egypt inconsistent with the Mosaic record, and by so destroying its claim to Inspiration, to undermine the entire Bible.

The French, Tuscan, and English explorers, though differing in their respective computations, all sustained the authority of the Inspired history. It was reserved for the Prussian Commission of 1842 to assert an antiquity wholly inconsistent with the truth of the Scripture. By combining these speculations with an entirely new and conjectural reading of the long-exploded Dynasties of Manetho, Baron Bunsen has elaborated a chronology which carries back the Egyptian monarchy to a period long before the Flood.<sup>1</sup> This extravagant hypothesis he dignifies by the name of Historical Criticism; but that it rests on no new information is obvious from the acknowledgment of Lepsius, that he has found no remains older than the age of the Pyramids, while Sir G. C. Lewis—a critic inferior to none—dismisses the whole theory as void of any solid foundation.<sup>2</sup>

A perusal of the following pages will show that

<sup>1</sup> Egypt's Place in Universal History.

<sup>2</sup> Astronomy of the Ancients.

what is really known of Egyptian antiquity remarkably corroborates the Sacred History, and that the monuments still receive their best explanation from the Inspired volume.

In explanation of the number and diversity of chronological schemes, it may be well to premise, that no Egyptian antiquities establish *any date whatever* by their own testimony. The Egyptians possessed *no common era* for the measurement of time; their events were dated by periods which are themselves uncertain. Their Monuments exhibited the year of the reign in which they were erected; their historians pretended to arrange the reigns in the order of time: but no arrangement can establish a positive date, unless we could be sure that it is *continuous, accurate, and complete*. Now, the Lists of Manetho, as they have come down to our hands, are clearly deficient in these essential requisites. They are broken into Dynasties which were certainly not all successive, while there is no evidence to determine how many were collateral. Moreover, of those believed to be successive, we cannot know that they were continuous. Gaps occur so unfathomable that Baron Bunsen interposes a thousand years, and some writers more, where others put less than half that time, and others again (supported by the monuments) find no interval at all.



The several reigns are involved in similar difficulties ; some are successive, and some contemporaneous : but the evidence seldom determines which, and their supposed lengths are occasionally contradicted by the appearance on a monument of a higher figure than the historian has allotted to the entire reign.

Monumental arrangements are open to the same objection. They are the work of modern critics, proceeding upon hypotheses which have never been established. The *Denkmäler* of Lepsius is a collection worthy of the time and labour bestowed on it by that accomplished scholar ; but it must always be borne in mind, that the *order* in which his drawings are presented is mostly the fruit of his individual conjecture.

In short, neither the History nor the Monuments contain the elements of a genuine chronology ; and when of two witnesses neither can speak to the fact, little is gained by a comparison of their evidence. A true chronological series of kings would serve to date the monuments ; or a real date on a monument would assign the age of the king to whom it belongs : but in the absence of either, it is reasoning in a circle to pretend to supply the defect.

In general history chronology becomes certain only about a thousand years before the Chris-

tian era: before that we have nothing but the Bible to depend upon; and of the Bible chronology there are two editions;—the ordinary one, printed in the Authorized English version, from Archbishop Usher's computations of the Hebrew text, and the longer system of the Greek Septuagint, universally followed in the primitive Church. The author has given his reasons for preferring the latter, but on such a question the Religious Tract Society will not be supposed to pronounce an opinion.

This volume is designed to present the Christian reader with all that is really authentic in the antiquities, which are so studiously pressed against the claims of Revelation. Feeling the truth of God's word to be impregnable, we can reciprocate the deep interest attaching to these glimpses of the long-distant past: we can encounter, without shrinking, disclosures by which the enthusiasm of unbelief thinks to crush our defences: we find in them only new confirmations of THE BOOK, which, towering above the fluctuations of earthly knowledge, stands like a rock amidst the surge; and "though the waves toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it."<sup>1</sup>

It is thought fit to close this volume with the

<sup>1</sup> Jer. v. 22.

fall of the Pharaohs, and the completion of the Old Testament Canon;—a concurrence which marked, in characters not to be mistaken, “how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.” The new Kingdom of the Ptolemies, which occupied the interval to the opening of the Gospel,—the history of the Egyptian Church,—the triumph of Mohammedanism,—and the fortunes of Egypt in connexion with modern Europe, supply the material of another which is now in preparation.

YORK,

*July 11, 1863.*

## NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

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THE great problem adverted to at pp. 7 and 8 of this volume has been happily solved in the manner there anticipated, and now constitutes the chief discovery of the day. Captain Speke, and his companion Captain Grant, have returned while our last pages are passing through the press, and report that the long-sought source of the Nile is in the Lake Victoria Nyanza, situated on the equator in the Mountains of the Moon: long.  $33^{\circ}$  E.

The Lake is a vast sheet of water 3500 feet above the level of the sea, and is connected with other smaller lakes. These waters are mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer, though it is only within the last 300 years that they have appeared on any European maps. They are filled by the constant rains, which deluge the zone of the equator to such an extent that in the year 1862 Captain Speke observed no less than 233 wet days. The southern coast of the Lake is in lat.  $3'$  s.; and in the middle of the opposite shore, about twenty miles north of the equator, the parent stream of the Nile rushes over rocks of an igneous character, to commence a journey of some 3000 geographical miles, or one-tenth the circumference of the globe, before they reach the Mediterranean Sea. This outlet has been named the "Ripon Falls," in honour of the noble earl who presides over the Royal Geographical Society.

The stream is swelled by other rivers flowing from the same lake, or its connected waters, before it joins the

*Bahr-el-Gazal* (p. 8). The junction of three of these rivers were duly observed, but the unsettled state of the country, the chiefs of which are in constant warfare, prevented a more extended examination, and even compelled the travellers to abandon the river at a great bend and rejoin it lower down.

Captain Speke describes the natives as of a similar race to the Abyssinians, tall and well made, with straight noses and curly hair. Their kings are continually at war with each other, and all have a great distrust of white men, *owing to the enormities of the slave-traders*. He adds the melancholy fact that, though highly intellectual, *they have no religion, and do not believe in the existence of the soul*.



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# Ancient Egypt.

NOTE,—In the following pages many questions arise upon which classical and Oriental scholars of eminence have maintained different opinions. On such controverted points, the views expressed are to be regarded as those of the Author alone, for which the Religious Tract Society does not hold itself responsible.

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# ANCIENT EGYPT.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

*Palestine and Egypt—Church and World—Secular Learning—Ancient Civilization—Present Desolation—Foretold in Holy Scripture—Future Restoration—Remarkable Prophecy—Singular Attraction—Always Young—The Map—THE NILE—Herodotus—Homer—Three Branches—Meroe—Blue River—White River—Source in Victoria Lake—Bahr-el-Gazal—Tacazze—Nubia—Cataract—Philæ—Elephantine—Syene—EGYPT—Foreign Name—Legend of Danaus and Ægyptus—Greek Appellation—Land of the Copt—Native Names—Black Country—Ancient Area—Upper and Lower Regions—Later Divisions—Thebaid—Delta—Mouth of Nile—Coast—The Inundation: causes, progress, and effect—The Water—Shape of the Ground—Aquatic Food—Nile Worshipped—Three Seasons—Landscape—Animals—Birds—Fertility—Arab Shepherds—Navigation—Diseases—Land of Goshen—Ship Canal—The Faïoom—Lake Mæris—Labyrinth—Oases.*

No two countries in the world offer so many claims on the attention of the Christian inquirer as *Palestine* and *Egypt*;—the promised land and the house of bondage, the holy and the unclean, the type and gate of heaven, and the image of a world that lieth in wickedness. In the Old Testament they are at once connected and opposed, like the church and the world under the gospel. The allegory is continued into the New Testament, which opens with the announcement, “Out of Egypt have I called my Son.”<sup>1</sup> If the student of Holy Scripture gives the first place in his inquiries to the land of the Law and the Prophets, the mountains and valleys which echoed

<sup>1</sup> Matt. ii. 15.



the daily psalmody of the temple, the scenes of the Saviour's life and miracles and passion,—the second place is as naturally claimed by the nation from the midst of whom the chosen people were brought out “by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm;”<sup>1</sup> the land that sheltered Israel from the famine, and Jesus from the sword.

Scarcely less prominent is the place which these countries occupy in the field of secular learning. Situated near the original seat of mankind, both were peopled in the earliest ages, and each maintained a population that seems almost incredible when compared with its limited extent. One became the abode of the only ancient civilization based on the conceptions of the Divine Being which are now universal in Europe. The other was the cradle of the only secular philosophy which has survived to be sanctified by the gospel, and to follow its march through the world. “The genealogy which connects European with Egyptian civilization is direct and certain. From Egypt it came to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the remoter nations of the West, by whom it has been carried throughout the globe. The indigenous culture of Asia has either become extinct, or is in rapid decay; that which had its first germ in the valley of the Nile still lives and grows in other climates, and in its diffusion seems destined to overshadow and exterminate the ancient civilization of the East.”<sup>2</sup>

The knowledge which took its rise in Central Asia

<sup>1</sup> Deut. iv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt*, i. 3. The learned author repeats the generally accepted opinion; but some not inconsiderable critics question the derivation of Greek learning from the Egyptian, and undoubtedly large allowance must be made for the native development of Greek science



spread to China on the east, and to Egypt on the west. These were the extremities of the old world's civilization: all beyond was either uninhabited or barbarous; but widely different has been the influence of these two poles of early civilization on other nations. Nothing beneficial ever came out of China; from Egypt the children of Abraham went up to found a metropolis for religion at Jerusalem, and, probably about the same time, the arts and sciences took wing, to kindle the genius of Greece, and open her imperishable schools of poetry, philosophy, and science.

The parallel may be pursued in the equal fate that has overtaken these mother-lands of knowledge, sacred and profane. Both are now languishing under the only power in Europe incapable of appreciating the treasures of either. The Lamentation poured out in Egypt over the desolation of Jerusalem is equally true of both: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!"<sup>1</sup>

To each the doom was predicted in the warnings of Holy Scripture. If Jerusalem was besought again and again to be instructed, lest the Lord depart from her and make her "desolate, a land not inhabited,"<sup>2</sup> it was no less plainly foretold of her rival, "Egypt shall be a desolation."<sup>3</sup>

For each also—to complete the marvel—it has been suggested that a day of restitution is determined in the Divine counsels. The restoration of Jerusalem is clearly predicted and firmly expected; but there are prophecies hardly less express in regard to Egypt:

<sup>1</sup> Lam. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. vi. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Joel iii. 19.

“The LORD shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the LORD in that day.”<sup>1</sup> Foremost in the great revival which is to follow the receiving of God’s ancient people as “life from the dead,”<sup>2</sup> are named their ancient enemies and oppressors: “In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the LORD of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.”<sup>3</sup>

It may be thought, indeed, that these prophecies received their fulfilment in the time when Christianity flourished in Egypt; but something more than was then experienced—something yet future—seems to be contained in those remarkable words, “EGYPT MY PEOPLE!” That He, “whose gifts and calling are without repentance,”<sup>4</sup> should remember his own olive tree, the people “beloved for their fathers’ sakes,”<sup>5</sup> is what might be anticipated from his Fatherly love; but if his purpose should travel on through them to their former rivals, and embrace in one glorious future those who are now levelled under a common judgment, this would indeed be a marvel of grace surpassing all our thoughts. Yet this is not the only passage where Egypt is spoken of in Holy Scripture with a signification deeper than is usually apprehended. There is ground to think that her ancient wisdom was not entirely the result of human speculations, but may have been derived by tradition from a Divine revelation anterior to the Mosaic. This mysterious question will meet us as we proceed.

Meantime there is a singular attraction in a land so

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xix. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xi. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xix. 24, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. xi. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. xi. 28.

different from all other lands; in that ancient river creating the soil and regulating the seasons of the year; in the stupendous ruins which stand in long succession on its banks; in the mysterious characters which hide the secrets of a remote antiquity; in the glimpses which here and there open upon us from the very womb of time; above all, in the contrast so vividly suggested between Nature and Art,—between the fashion of this world that passeth away and the word of the Lord that endureth for ever.

Such are the ideas which rise upon the mind at the name of EGYPT. The oldest of historical countries, it seems ever endowed with a singular youthfulness. Its interest never wears out; its monuments, though in ruins, show few signs of decay; the corroding tooth of time is arrested in its dry and equable atmosphere. The face of the land is unchangeable; the map is of Nature's drawing, which the generations of men successively occupy, but can never obliterate.

The Red Sea, recognised in modern geography as the boundary between Asia and Africa, is lined along its western coast by a chain of rough and barren hills rising rapidly to a height of eight or nine hundred feet, but nowhere so much as 150 miles broad. Further westward a parallel ridge of lower elevation skirts the Sahara or Great Libyan Desert, the most cheerless region on the face of the earth, and offering a far more formidable barrier than oceans or mountains to the intercourse of mankind. The valley between these two deserts is rendered fertile by one of the largest rivers in the world, and one which more than any other has exercised the curiosity of explorers, of poets, and philosophers. The ancient Egyptians called

it *Hapee*, the deep, and *Phior*, the river;<sup>1</sup> a name, the force of which is not lessened by the discovery of the mighty streams of America. Homer sang of it as "the Jove-born *Ægyptus*."<sup>2</sup> Its historical name, THE NILE, is perhaps derived from the Hebrew word *Nahal* (river), or else from an Oriental term of wide acceptance in the sense of *blue*.<sup>3</sup>

From the remotest period this river has attracted attention by its peculiar phenomena. Herodotus complains that, after travelling into Egypt for the purpose of inquiring, nobody could tell him what he most wanted to know,—why the Nile should do exactly contrary to every other river, overflow in summer and dwindle away in winter. The Bruces and Mungo Parks of antiquity were equally unsuccessful in discovering the origin of this contradictory stream. To "seek the sources of the Nile" became a proverb for attempting the impossible. Homer fancied it flowed direct from Jupiter. "Touching the sources of the Nile (writes the simple-minded father of history) it was never my hap to light upon anybody, Egyptian, Libyan, or Greek, that even professed to know anything about it."<sup>4</sup> Eratosthenes, the learned librarian of Alexandria, knew there were three principal branches; two of these meet at Khartoum<sup>5</sup> in Upper Nubia, under the appellations of the *White*<sup>6</sup> and *Blue*<sup>7</sup> Rivers; the third, now called the Tacazze,<sup>8</sup> is received into the united stream at Berber. Between these two junctions lay the so-called island of Meroe,

1 So in Exod. ii. 3, 5; vii. 20, etc.      2 Odyssey, iv. 477, 581.

3 So the *Neilgherries* or *blue* mountains of Coimbatore, the *nilghau* or *blue* cattle, etc. According to one etymology, the *Indus* also signifies the Blue River.

4 Herodotus, ii. 28.

5 Lat. 15° 37' N.; long. 35° E.

6 Bahr el Abiad.

7 Bahr el Azrek.

8 Anciently the Astaboras.



which the Greeks erroneously imagined to be the original seat of Egyptian civilization.<sup>1</sup>

Till quite recently, modern exploration had added little to the knowledge of the ancients. Bruce's discovery of the sources of the Nile in the mountains of Abyssinia, was anticipated by the Jesuits, Paez and Tellez, two centuries earlier;<sup>2</sup> the three springs described are in all probability the heads of the *Blue River*, though the connexion has not yet been verified by an actual descent of the stream. The *White River*, so called from the quantity of argillaceous matter mixed with its waters, is the true Nile. A mile broad at the junction, it increases to four miles during the inundation. It was ascended by M. Arnaud, in 1841, by order of the Pacha Mehemet Ali, as far as Gondokoro, when the expedition was stopped by an impassable cataract, falling from a ridge of granite which directly traversed the stream. The latitude of this place has been ascertained to be  $4^{\circ}42'N.$ ; and, according to native information obtained by some Austrian missionaries who resided there, the river extended its course between two and three hundred miles beyond. In August, 1858, Captain Speke, in exploring Central Africa, as assistant to Captain Burton, under instructions from the Royal Geographical Society, arrived at the southern extremity of a large lake or inland sea, to which he has given the name of *Victoria Nyanza*. This water extends from latitude  $2^{\circ}$  south, to at least an equal

<sup>1</sup> Meroë appears to have been a tribal more than a territorial appellation. It was once the name of Upper Egypt, it is still found at Napator, and finally travelled south to the confluence of the rivers. "In every case the name changed its place from north to south, and so we must believe that the tribes had at some early time moved southward from the head of the Red Sea."—*Sharpe's Egypt*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Maltebrun, Book lx. p. 1.



distance north of the equator. Its western coast had been ascended by Captain Speke's Arab informants as far as Kibuga, which they reported to be only 160 miles from Gondokoro. They were told that the two places are connected by a very rapid river called *Kivira*. This river can be no other than the Nile, which according to these accounts has its source in the Victoria Nyanza, and (as Ptolemy conjectured) at the foot of the Mountains of the Moon.<sup>1</sup>

To complete the verification of this important geographical discovery, Captain Speke has proceeded again to the equator, under the auspices of the same Society, with the intention of descending the stream from the Victoria Nyanza to Gondokoro. Meantime another great river has been discovered further west, whose waters unite with those of the White Nile in a large reedy lake, extending through the eighth and ninth parallels of north latitude.<sup>2</sup> This river also flows from the same elevated equatorial region, but whether out of the Victoria Lake, or from the mountains to the west, has yet to be ascertained.

On reaching the eastern extremity of the reedy lake just mentioned (*Bahr-el-Gazal*), the White Nile changes its course from north to east, and after receiving two considerable tributaries, the *Giraffe* and the *Sobat*, takes its way almost due north to Khartoum. Here it admits the Blue River into its channel, but the waters continue to be distinguished by their proper colour for some distance. At Berber<sup>3</sup> a second contribution is received from the mountains of Abyssinia, in the Tacazze, a stream of 1000 feet wide; and thence

<sup>1</sup> Captain Speke's Journal, "Blackwood's Magazine," 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Petherick's *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa*.

<sup>3</sup> Lat. 17° 40' N.; long. 34° E.

the entire drainage is conveyed to the Mediterranean without any further tributary, during a course of 1500 miles. The general direction is nearly north, but a considerable deflection occurs in the centre of Nubia (almost in the shape of the letter S), which travellers are accustomed to avoid by a land journey across the desert. A little more than midway down the south-westerly reach is the sacred rock called Mount Barkal, near the ancient Ethiopian capital Napator, and on the opposite or left bank are the pyramids which mark its cemetery. After turning the southern angle the stream is divided by the island of Argo,<sup>1</sup> which marks the limit of the ancient Egyptian conquests; and soon after occur the ruins of their temples at Sesse and Soleb.

The current is broken, throughout, by several rapids and cataracts, the last of which lies nearly under the tropic of Cancer. Here the channel is traversed by a ridge of rose-coloured granite, whose numerous quarries supplied the rich material for the statues, columns, and obelisks so abundantly produced by Egyptian art. The rocks overhang the river on either side, and the stream is divided by more than twenty large islands, between which the water rushes with considerable vehemence. The total descent, however, is only eighty feet in five miles, broken into three principal falls. In the subterranean caverns of this rapid the ancient Egyptians placed the sources of the Nile, which they supposed to flow from this centre both to the north and south. Here was the fabled haunt of Osiris, who was said to remain buried in the secret abysses while the river was contained within its banks, but to rise and scatter his blessings when the inundation began.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. 19° 25'.

In the still waters at the head of the cataract lies the beautiful island of Philæ, geographically, therefore, in Nubia, and in the time of Herodotus inhabited by Ethiopians, but after the Persian conquest included in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This was the sacred island of Isis, called the "Lady of Philek," as Osiris had his island of *Phiueb* containing his grave, inaccessible to all but the priests.<sup>2</sup>

About three miles below the falls is Elephantine, an island in the midst of the stream, covered with verdure and flowers, which form a charming contrast to the wild and barren scenery on either bank. It is at this point that Egypt Proper commences. Syene its frontier town, now called Assouan, stands on the right bank abreast of Elephantine, and conspicuous for its quarries, which still contain a half-finished obelisk of ancient design. From these quarries the beautiful red granite derives its name of *Syenite*; and here the Roman satirist Juvenal was compelled to grieve his contemptuous eyes with the relics of barbarian art in exchange for the delights of Rome, from which he was banished by the resentment of the emperor Domitian, under pretence of commanding the Legion at that post.

Syene was said to be so exactly under the tropic, that at the solstice the sun was reflected in a well at noonday, and an upright pole cast no shadow. The present town, however, is more than half a degree to the north of the tropic of Cancer.

From the cataracts to the sea, a distance of 739

<sup>1</sup> "The hieroglyphical name of this island is generally read *Manlak*. I have found it several times undoubtedly written *Ilak*; this with the article becomes *Philak*, in the mouth of the Greeks *Philai*."—*Lepsius' Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, etc.*, xv. For another meaning of this word and Elephantine, see note on page 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Lepsius' Letters*, xv.

miles, the Nile proceeds without interruption over a bed so level that the total fall is less than 600 feet. The valley on either side of this majestic tide is EGYPT: the river has supplied in all ages the limit and definition of the people; to live below the cataract and drink the waters of the Nile was to be an Egyptian.<sup>1</sup>

The name, however, by which this well-defined country is designated in all the tongues of Europe is wholly unknown to its native history and language. *Egypt* is an appellation derived from the Greeks, who not unfrequently transmuted foreign words into their own idiom, and then invented a fable to explain their etymology. According to their legends, Ægyptus was a king who reigned on the banks of the Nile in conjunction with his brother Danaus; till some dispute arising, the latter took ship with his fifty daughters, and after touching at Rhodes came to Argos, where he obtained the kingdom, and changed the name of the inhabitants from Pelasgi to Danai. His court was visited by the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, who, having been married to their cousins on the same day, were assassinated (with a single exception) by their brides in the night. This Ægyptus, it is added, gave his name both to the mother country and the river which was its principal feature.

All that we can infer from this legend is that some portion of the Greek civilization had an Egyptian origin; and this was in fact a favourite hypothesis of both nations. It throws no light at all on the origin of the name assigned at once to the Nile, its territories, and their kings. Ægyptus is clearly a word of Greek fabrication, and must have been unknown in the valley of the Nile till the Greeks introduced it. It

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 18.



is formed from *aia* (for *gaia*) the Greek word for land, and some native monosyllable expanded by a Greek termination into *gyptus*. The same monosyllabic root appears in *Coptos*, the Greek name of a town in Central Egypt now called *Keft*, but which in the hieroglyphic characters is written *Kobto*. In all probability, therefore, the root is identical with *Copt*, which is still the designation of the oldest race in Egypt, whose language is considered to be the nearest representative of the ancient Egyptian. On this view *Ægyptus* is simply "the land of the Copt." Mr. Bruce informs us that in the neighbouring country of Ethiopia *y Gypt* is understood to mean the land of canals; while Major Wilford translates the Sanscrit equivalent *Agupta*, "guarded on every side."<sup>1</sup> Either meaning might be sufficiently appropriate to a country which owes its existence to a system of canals as numerous and beneficial as the blood-vessels in the animal organization, and which is moreover shut in on all sides by the desert and the sea. It is curious also that the latter meaning is found in the Hebrew *Mazor*, which supplied the name for Egypt in all the languages of the East, and which in Micah vii. 12 is translated "fortress," *i. e.*, a place shut in and guarded by walls.<sup>2</sup>

The designation "Copt" has been not improbably traced to *Caphtorim*,<sup>3</sup> the name of a tribe descended from Mizraim, the third son of Ham; names which were common to those primitive patriarchs, and the land inhabited by their posterity. The Egyptians themselves called their country *Chemi*, or *Chem*, which

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Researches, iii. 304.

<sup>2</sup> In two other places, 2 Kings xix. 24, and Isa. xix. 6, where the English version follows the same meaning, the Spanish translation of Proops reads, "rivers of *Egypt*."

<sup>3</sup> Gen. x. 14.



is the same with Ham, and signifies *dark*. "The land of Ham" is a frequent appellation in the Psalms: but the common name of Egypt in Holy Scripture is *Mizraim*, the plural, or rather dual form of Mazar, and also the designation of the patriarch who is believed to have first settled on the Nile.<sup>1</sup> Ham signifies *dark*; and, as applied to the country, may have referred to the black alluvial mud which covered the fields, and would undoubtedly attract the attention of the first colonists. A similar meaning has been found in the Arabic *Misr*; and as the earliest Greek name was *Aeria*, a word of the same import, it seems probable that it was originally known as the Black Country.

This name would include all the lands fertilized by the Nile, which were anciently much more extensive than at present. A rich valley,<sup>2</sup> including probably the land of Goshen, which was watered by a canal from the eastern branch of the Nile to the head of the Gulf of Suez, is now buried in the sands of the desert. In other parts also the watercourses have been neglected, and it is computed that fully a third of the ancient cultivation is thus lost. The entire area, including lakes and sandy tracks, is less than 10,000 square geographical miles, of which little more than one half is at present under cultivation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The dual form has been supposed to relate to Upper and Lower Egypt, a division traced by nature itself, and duly recognised under every government. The best authorities conceive that these appellations originally belonged to the several races or tribes, and from them were transferred both to the lands they inhabited, and the patriarch from whom they were sprung. The "two Misr" is a name still used by the Arabs.—*Wilkinson's Manners and Customs*, i. 2; and *Hengstenberg's Egypt and Moses*, Edin. p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> The Wady-i-Tumeylat.

<sup>3</sup> Total superficies, square geographical miles, 9,582; anciently cultivated, 8,361; modern cultivation, 5,626; reclaimable, 1,295. See Smith's "Bible Dictionary," p. 495.

Though united under the common designation of Egypt, nothing can be more dissimilar than the physical aspect of the Upper and Lower Regions. From Assouan to Cairo, a distance of 629 miles, the valley is limited to an average breadth of seven miles, forming a strip of cultivation drawn across the desert like a ribbon, with the Nile for a central thread. This narrow winding valley seems to belong to Nubia more than to Egypt, and would have been always reckoned in the former country but for the cataract which impedes the river communication. The temperature is seven degrees higher than in Lower Egypt; the vegetation is more tropical; the crocodile seldom descends to its lower end, and the shell-fish are those of Abyssinia and the South.

Under the Pharaohs the upper valley was distinguished by the name of *Ta-res*, the "Southern Region," and formed a distinct government from the *Ta Meheet* or "Northern Regions." The sovereignty was even marked by different crowns and titles. The Greeks and Romans divided the upper valley into the *Thebais* and the *Heptanomis*, nearly corresponding to the modern divisions of Upper and Central Egypt. These distinctions being political, not physical, have varied with the different rulers. The Thebaid was considered to include the southern part of the valley as far as Abydos or This, where a canal, or more probably an old branch of the Nile, still bearing the name of Joseph's river (*Bahr Jussuf*), diverges to the left, and flowing between the main channel and the Libyan hills, joins the western branch a little below Cairo. At present Upper Egypt extends down the left bank of the river to the transverse valley, which opens towards the Little Oasis just below *Manfalout*, and on the

sight bank to the twenty-eighth parallel of north latitude.

Lower Egypt is distinguished by an entirely different conformation, effecting a corresponding change in the aspect of the river. Near Cairo the hills which enclose the valley begin to recede from each other, the eastern range turning off towards the head of the Red Sea, and the opposite one retiring into Libya to the north west. The Nile, obtaining room to expand, separates into two branches, which proceed with a weakened current to empty themselves into the Mediterranean at Rosetta and Damietta. The *Delta*, or triangle enclosed between these branches and the sea, is a vast plain of sand, covered to a depth of thirty feet with the deposits of the Nile, and teeming with agricultural wealth. In former times it was probably twice as large as at present: the apex of the Delta was six or seven miles higher up the river, and the area of cultivation extended much further to the east and west, where its limit may still be traced by a greater verdure in the desert.

The Nile had then seven mouths, corresponding with as many great streams which enclosed and fertilized the Delta. The *Canopic* branch, now partly confounded with the canal of Alexandria, and partly lost in the Lake Etko, was the westernmost. Next to it was the *Bolbitine*, originally a canal from the Canopic branch, and still open at Rosetta. The *Sebenitic* being in the direct line of the undivided river, had the strongest current, and, as a natural consequence, carried the shore furthest out into the sea; its mouth is now lost in the Lake Bourlos. The *Phatnitic* or *Bucolic* branch, yet open at Damietta, forms the eastern limit of the existing Delta. Beyond this were of old the *Mendesian*,

and the *Tanitic* or *Saitic*, corresponding with the present canal of Moez ; and lastly the *Pelusiatic*, near the ancient town of Pelusium, whose ruins are still visible to the east of Lake Menzaleh. This extensive lagoon has obliterated the mouths of the three last-named branches of the Nile.

Alterations of this description are the natural results of the opposing action of the river and the sea. The former, taking its course through an alluvial plain annually submerged, was always liable to change its channels. The straighter and stronger branches carried their deposits furthest out into the sea, the lateral and weaker streams parting with their burdens nearer land. Hence the fanlike shape of the coast. On the other hand, the resistance of the sea was continually silting up the mouths of the various channels ; while the waves beating in at the lowest points often more than recovered what had been lost. The lakes were converted into salt lagoons, and nothing but a few islands showed where the lower plains had once extended. This incessant war of the salt water with the fresh was perhaps the cause of more peril to strangers visiting Egypt, than the alleged inhumanity of its pristine inhabitants. Herodotus doubted whether foreigners were ever offered in sacrifices to Osiris ; but it is certain that the inhospitable coast offered no safe harbour of refuge till the small island of Pharos (off Alexandria) was connected with the shore by a pier (B. C. 284).

When the Nile is called the principal or only natural feature of Egypt, the term is too feeble to express its true relation to the region through which it runs. Egypt is not so much watered as *created* by the Nile ; the soil is not only fertilized, but deposited



by the river, whose waters form the only line between the habitable land and the desert. Herodotus and the priests with whom he conversed were of opinion that Egypt was once a gulf of the sea, which had been gradually filled up by the annual deposits.<sup>1</sup> Modern geology has satisfied itself that even in the Delta the alluvium rests upon a floor previously elevated above the sea level. Yet if Egypt has not been raised out of the Mediterranean, it has certainly been reclaimed from a waste of sand, not less barren and salt, by the action of its beneficent river. Time was when it was nothing but a long rocky valley of sandstone and limestone ending in a shallow bay. A river flowed in the midst of this valley, upon whose arid banks no human being could have found shelter or sustenance. For centuries the solitary stream employed itself in transporting the soil of Central Africa, and spreading it along its banks, before man became aware of the preparation making for his abode. For centuries since the process has continued without abatement. It still effaces every year the tablets of past benefits, and renews the soil for fresh productions.

The cause of this phenomenon, so mysterious to the ancients, is now clearly recognised in the periodical rains falling on the high lands, where the Nile and its affluents take their rise. In Egypt there is little or no rain, a fact duly noted in the word of God, when denouncing his judgment on the rebellious of the latter days.<sup>2</sup> The exhalations of the Mediterranean

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Zech. xiv. 18; see also Deut. xi. 10, 11. Rain is not unfrequent on the sea-coast; but the cultivation is not dependent on it. In Thebes, also, some of the temples are furnished with waterspouts, and storms of wind, hail, and rain have been chronicled, but always as rare phenomena.



are carried past the arid levels and inconsiderable hills, to expend themselves on the mountains of Abyssinia and Central Africa. The rain-fall is regulated by the sun's passage from the tropic and the equator. As his rays become vertical they create a vacuum, to supply which a current sets in from the sea ; these winds being loaded with moisture, the clouds are condensed upon the heights and descend in torrents of rain. The action is so regular that Bruce observed the rains to set in at the various localities precisely when the sun reached its greatest height above them. The brooks and rivers are then rapidly filled to overflowing; and as the greater part converge in the Nile, an annual inundation takes place throughout its entire length. The effect is increased by the northerly winds rolling a larger quantity of water to the mouth of the river and keeping back the fresh.

The rise begins at Syene about the middle of June, and gradually extends itself down the valley. At first it is scarcely perceptible, but augmenting rapidly, it gains half the increase by the middle of August. The dykes are then cut, which close the entrances to the numerous canals by which the country is intersected, and the waters, now red and turbid, are admitted into the fields. The inundation reaches its height about the end of September; after remaining stationary for a fortnight, it decreases at a similar rate till the 20th of May, when the river is at the lowest. At this time the depth at Cairo is not more than six feet, and the current is scarcely discernible in the level channels of the Delta.

Notwithstanding the enormous quantity of water expended on the fields, the average discharge into the sea during the inundation is ninefold the quantity at

other times; and the current augments its velocity in the same proportion. At Lycopolis, near the middle of Egypt, it has been observed to run at the rate of nearly six feet in a second,<sup>1</sup> or above forty miles an hour.

The height of the water varies in different parts. At the cataracts the rise is 40 feet, at Thebes about 35, and at Rosetta only  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . At Cairo, where it is carefully observed for the purpose of assessing the Sultan's tribute, the highest rise was 24 feet, and the lowest 18, during the four years when the French had possession of the country and kept a register of the overflow. In the time of Herodotus 15 or 16 cubits was accounted a *good Nile*.<sup>2</sup> The sixteenth cubit marked on the Nilometer is called "the Sultan's Water," the tribute being remitted if the river falls short of this height. Anything under 24 feet gives a defective harvest, and under 18 entails famine upon thousands. On the other hand, an excessive overflow, such as occasionally happens, spreads devastation through the land: houses, cattle, and granaries are swept away in the deluge. The waters are longer in abating; the husbandry is delayed, and the harvest endangered. Pestilence also frequently ensues from the stagnant waters and the decay of animal remains.

The deposit left by the inundation contains in every 100 parts 48 of clay (alumen), 9 of carbon, 18 of carbonate of lime, and 4 of carbonate of magnesia, besides portions of silica and oxide of iron.<sup>3</sup> The water is admitted into the fields from the canals, and, being

<sup>1</sup> Ritter, *Africa*, p. 849 (Kenrick, i. 83).

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon says that the Egyptian cubit was about twenty-two inches English measure ("Dec. and Fall," cxxviii.); which would make the average inundation considerably greater than the French observations.

<sup>3</sup> Regnault's Analysis (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, iv. 50).

retained till the ground is thoroughly saturated, thus leaves a sediment richer than any artificial dressing. The superfluous moisture is exhaled by the sun and wind; and the seed having been scattered broadcast, or sown in shallow furrows, is trodden in by cattle.

The deposit is, of course, continually raising the level; which induced Herodotus to prophesy that the time would come when the inundation would be restrained by the elevation of the banks, and the country relapse into a desert. He forgot that the river also elevates its *bed*, and so maintains the same relative position with the fields. The tendency, in fact, is the other way; for as the stream naturally deposits the largest portion of its ingredients in and adjoining to its channel, these parts rise faster than the more distant region. The floor of the valley is consequently arched upwards; the river flowing along the highest part, and its banks sloping downward on either side to the desert. This configuration, if properly attended to, would have the effect of gradually extending the area of inundation and culture. The dykes being opened when the Nile is at half height, the water is conducted by canals cut through the alluvium to the lowest and most distant levels first. The nearer lands are then gradually submerged, while the immediate banks remain uncovered, and form the principal highways. It is obvious that by lengthening and deepening the canals, as the slope increases, the waters might be carried further and further into the desert. In the absence of such measures the desert has indeed encroached on the cultivation; but it is by the accumulation of its sands in the channels, not by the necessary elevation of the fields.

To the Nile, also, the Egyptians owe their only drinking water. In its pure state it was accounted



delicious, and even when most turbid it may be easily filtered. Modern travellers detract somewhat, in this as in many other instances, from the panegyrics of antiquity; but the Persian kings carried the Nile water with them for their own table; and a Roman general could reproach his soldiers for asking for wine in its presence.

The same beneficent agency supplied the natives with their principal articles of food. The canals and lakes teemed with fish; the catching and curing of which forms a prominent feature in the monumental pictures of ancient life and occupation. Their surface was covered with water-fowl and aquatic plants, which entered largely into the diet of the poorer classes. The papyrus and the lotus, now almost unknown, furnished a cheap and abundant provision; the stalk and roots of both were eaten (like turnips among ourselves) boiled, roasted, and raw. The lotus-seeds, resembling beans, were ground and made into cakes. So varied was the supply, that in the desert the children of Israel looked back with bitter repinings to the products of the Nile and its saturated banks: "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick: but now our soul is dried away: there is nothing at all, beside this manna, before our eyes."<sup>1</sup> It is thus that the unregenerate, ever lusting after the delights of the world, despise the "bread of life which cometh down from heaven," though to the spiritual mind "sweeter than honey and the honeycomb."

The Nile, in short, was always the dominant feature of Egypt,—the source of all its animal and vegetable

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xi. 5, 6.

life,—the centre of its agriculture, commerce, and social existence. The ancient idolaters worshipped it as a god, and its annual changes supplied the first division of the year into seasons. They were three, the seasons of *Vegetation*, *Harvest*, and *Waters*. In other countries, also, the seasons were originally three; and we may observe that among ourselves, *spring*, *summer*, and *winter* only have Anglo-Saxon names; and *autumn* is a later importation from the Latin.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian seasons consisted of four months each, new-year's-day being the first of the month *Thoth*, which properly corresponded with the rising of the Dog Star, and the beginning of the inundation. This was a little after midsummer, but, from the imperfection of the calendar, the civil year differed from the natural, and the seasons fell continually out of their proper months.

Nature continues the same as of old. When the countries of Europe have put on the deep foliage of summer, Egypt lies bare and black as when its first settlers agreed at a glance on its name. At Michaelmas, when our landscape glows with golden crops, and ruddy fruits, and the thousand hues of forest and moor, the Delta is one turbid sea, spotted with villages and banks like islands and reefs. At Christmas the ground is spread with a carpet of the brightest green, embroidered with flowers, which spring up as if by enchantment on the abatement of the waters, furnishing a brilliant contrast to the bare yellow hills and sandy deserts which enclose the area.

The vegetation is almost unintermitted. The trees are clothed with new leaves in February, as soon as the old ones have disappeared. This is the period of greatest beauty: the landscape, however, must have

<sup>1</sup> Dean Trench's Glossary of English Words—*Harvest*.



been always tame and monotonous. Forests there were never any: the clumps of date trees, the acacias, mulberries, and sycamores, standing singly or in rows by the wayside, with occasional orange and lemon groves, speak of no older and more majestic growth. The gigantic reeds which once thickly fringed the waters could have added little to the prospect. Growing to a height of fifteen feet, and eighteen inches in circumference, they yielded an enormous quantity of pith, the filmy layers of which were separated and flattened into paper. These sedgy battalions no longer wave their broad flags in the breeze: the prophecy is fulfilled which said, "The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks, and everything sown by the brooks, shall wither, be driven away, and be no more."<sup>1</sup> The lotus, too, another of the characteristics of Ancient Egypt, which at banquets filled the place of the rose among Greeks and Arabs, is no more. The flowers had no scent, and the fragrance of the hayfield was unknown.

This monotony in the vegetable kingdom was far from being compensated by variety in the animal. The larger beasts are mostly amphibious. The elephant, which once perhaps haunted the foot of the cataracts, where an island bears its name,<sup>2</sup> has long retreated into the depths of Africa. The hippopotamus is seldom seen below Upper Nubia, though once the companion of the crocodile, which may be still hunted in the higher Egyptian Nile. The lion, too, is now rare, though of old time he was often seen chasing the gazelles in the desert. The camel, now so frequent, was not indigenous, and is never found in the hieroglyphics. The horse, anciently so much in repute, has

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xix. 7.

<sup>2</sup> But see note on p. 10.

passed away with the military power of which he was the emblem.<sup>1</sup> Asses are still excellent ; cattle, sheep, dogs, and formerly swine, are abundant. Birds, mostly divers and waders, still throng the islands and sand-banks, whence the sacred Ibis<sup>2</sup> has disappeared. Vultures and kites are the principal land birds ; none are distinguished by beauty of plumage, or movement ; and the wide open plain could never be vocal with the pipe of feathered songsters.

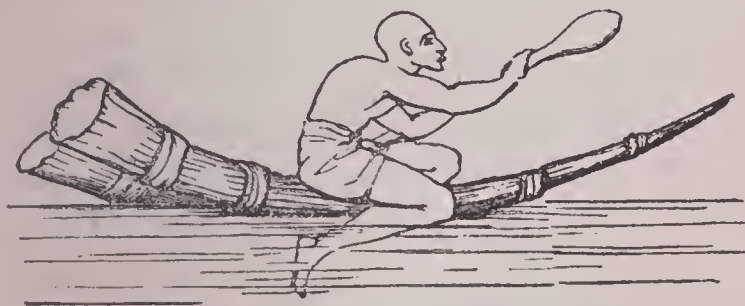
If nature, however, never wore a romantic aspect on the banks of the Nile, her uniformity was prolific in more substantial comforts. The high and even temperature reduced the necessities of life to the lowest point. Animal food and clothing were little needed : the slightest structures sufficed for habitations. On the other hand, the agricultural wealth was unparalleled. As soon as the wheat and barley were reaped, maize and rice were sown, to grow in the inundation, and yield a second harvest the same year. Flax and cotton supplied the most appropriate raiment ; while good father Nile took the husbandry on himself, asking neither deep ploughing, nor fallow, nor drainage, nor manure. Every year this unwearied farmer put more to the soil than was taken out of it, and Egypt was the very paradise of agriculturists. Their only care was to guard their easy earnings from the marauding Arabs, who, if their herds lacked pasturage in the desert, would, without scruple, drive them into the fields of their thriving neighbours, or levy a tribute for the exemption. It was doubtless with good reason that

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 17 ; Exod. xv. 21 ; Deut. xvii. 16 ; 1 Kings x. 28, 29 ; Psa. xxxiii. 17 ; cxlvii. 10 ; Isa. xxx. 16 ; xxxi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The bones preserved in mummies show this famous bird to have been a kind of curlew.

“every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians.”<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these unexampled blessings by land, the Nile offered its children the longest inland navigation known to the old world. Long before ships stood out to sea, or boats were built in the Grecian Isles, the Egyptian peasant found the means of paddling



across his watery tillage on bundles of the large reeds that grew spontaneously around him. Baskets were woven and coated with slime, in which a mother was not afraid to trust her precious babe.<sup>2</sup> The stalks of the papyrus were even found strong enough to serve for timbers, and be fashioned into regular boats —“vessels of papyrus,”—conveying messengers from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia.<sup>3</sup>

The Nile was thus the earliest highway for commerce. The flax furnished the sail; the north wind, blowing steadily for nine months in the year by day, rendered it easy to ascend the stream; the latter again floated down the contrary traffic without effort by night. With these advantages the husbandman was enabled to barter with the city, the city to export its products, the whole nation to communicate with each other, and the processes of civilized government to develope with more than ordinary rapidity.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xviii. 2.



Still this favoured valley was not without its drawbacks. Its abundant population were always subject to "evil diseases," even though the *plague* should be a later importation. Reptiles and noisome insects were always, as they still are, innumerable. Venomous serpents and scorpions, now seldom met with save in the desert, must have been more common in early days. Snakes, frogs, mosquitoes, wasps, and flies, are still the inmates of every habitation. Locusts, though rare at present, were perhaps more frequent visitors of old. Their devastations indeed were greater in Ethiopia and Arabia; but even in our own time flights of locusts occur, though at distant intervals, which darken the heavens like a snow-drift, and continue unbroken for five or six days.<sup>1</sup>

The Nile was anciently connected with the Red Sea by a canal from Bubastis, on the easternmost branch, to the immediate vicinity of the modern town of Suez. The execution of this important work, attributed to more than one of the ancient kings, had the effect of bringing under cultivation a large tract of land, now barren, in which the valley of Goshen is supposed to have been included. The mouth of the canal was fitted with sluices to exclude the sea-water during the time of inundation. The long vessels which are supposed to have conducted the Indian trade were probably admitted during the low Nile. Some authors say the canal was never finished, on account of the water in the Red Sea having been found to stand at a higher level than that in the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> Others state that this difficulty was overcome by means of locks;

<sup>1</sup> Such a visitation was witnessed by Lepsius in 1843.—*Letters from Egypt*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. i 33; Strabo 17.

but it is now allowed that no such difficulty exists. The canal was certainly completed, and may still be traced, not only by the appearance of its channel, but by mounds and other vestiges of the towns which formerly stood on its banks. Being carried through the sands it was sure to fill up again without constant attention. The name of Rameses the Great, found in one of the towns on its banks, seems to show that it was at least as old as that celebrated monarch. It was probably re-opened by Necho, to whom Herodotus ascribes its construction, and again by the Ptolemies. Having once more gone to decay, it was restored by the caliphs on the revival of the Indian trade, and continued to be used till the course of that lucrative traffic was again diverted by the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. At the present moment a scheme is in active execution, under the sanction of the Pacha, to restore the water communication, forgetting that for all purposes of commerce the rail has superseded the canal: the works are under the direction of a French company.

Besides the land of Goshen, Ancient Egypt enjoyed some important dependencies, which are now of little value through long neglect of the means of cultivation. The Arsinoite nome, now called the Faioom, was a province of more than three hundred square miles, and one of the most fertile in Lower Egypt. It lies between Cairo and the Libyan desert, from which it is separated by a lake thirty-five miles long and seven broad, named the *Birket el Kerun*. This appears to be the remains of the famous lake *Mæris*, which the Greeks believed to have been excavated by a Pharaoh of that name. It was perhaps a natural pool and marsh enlarged by the erection of banks, and



communicating with the Nile by Joseph's River; or the dams may have run across the valley, like the *bund* of an Indian tank, in front of the Lake Kerun, so as to intercept the contents of Joseph's River. The water rising during the inundation to the level of the Upper Nile, not only fertilized the adjacent valley, but constituted a standing reservoir against unfavourable seasons. The decay of the dams has left nothing but the original pool, which is now brackish from the salt of the desert; but there is no ground for the conjecture of the Greeks, that it communicated by a subterraneous passage with the Mediterranean.

The name of this famous lake, though connected with so many kings, is probably nothing but *Mou res*, "the southern water," in contradistinction to the Mediterranean or Northern Sea. The soil of the Faioom (from *Phiom*, "the lake") is composed of Nile deposit, and was therefore certainly conveyed thither through the Bahr Jussuf: at present only an inconsiderable portion of the overflow reaches the Birket el Kerun, the general level having risen above that of the river. This insulated province contained the famous Labyrinth with the city of Crocodilopolis; an obelisk yet standing probably marks its site, and is one of the oldest of Egyptian monuments.

Still further from the Nile, and in the heart of the Great Libyan Desert, are the celebrated *Oases*. They lie in a sort of shallow valley, running through the desert, over an underground river, towards the sea at Cyrene. The largest, called the Theban Oasis from lying opposite to that city, is eighty miles in length, and ninety miles from the river at the nearest point. It still contains the city of Khargeh, with a numerous population, besides several villages. A hundred

miles to the west is the oasis of Dakkel, inhabited by twelve villages of Bedouin Arabs. The Little Oasis, considerably to the north, contains the town of Kasr and some other places. In this spot artesian wells have been discovered and re-opened, which yield jets of water from a depth of four or five hundred feet. By far the most remarkable of the oases is that of Siwah, five degrees west of Cairo. Here stood the celebrated temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon, with the fountain of the sun, which, according to Herodotus, was warm at dawn, cold at noon, and boiling at midnight. Belzoni, who visited the spot in 1816, thought the water actually varied from about  $40^{\circ}$  at noon to  $100^{\circ}$  at midnight; but as he had no thermometer, and only judged by his sensations, it is probable that the change was in his own temperature, not in that of the fountain. The latter is in a well sixty feet deep, thickly shaded with palm trees.<sup>1</sup>

These happy islands in the ocean desert owe their verdure not to being elevated above the sands, for they are, in fact, depressions in the general level, but to the springs which are doubtless fed from the Nile by natural infiltration. Some of them are certainly hot, and they are copious enough to be used for irrigation.

<sup>1</sup> There was another temple and oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, in Greece; and the legend ran that two black pigeons, flying from Thebes, had alighted at these places, and marked them as sites for the Deity. The priests of Thebes assured Herodotus that the pigeons were really two Egyptian females connected with their temple, who had been carried off and sold into slavery by Phœnician rovers. Their dark complexion and foreign speech were quite enough with the Greek poets to metamorphose the poor priestesses into black pigeons.

## CHAPTER II.

## MONUMENTS OF LOWER EGYPT.

*Antiquity—Preservation—Hieroglyphics—Historical Importance—Delta—MEMPHIS—Site—Origin—Temple of Phthah—PYRAMIDS—Etymology—Number—Three at Ghizeh—Sepulchres—Scientific Principles—Observatories—Inclined Passages—Angle of Elevation—North Star—Construction—Inscriptions—Appearance—Dimensions—Great Pyramid—Vault—Queen's Chamber—King's Chamber—Air-passages—Sarcophagus—Upper Spaces—Hieroglyphics—Well—Lepsius's Theory—Structural Hypothesis—Second Pyramid—Vault—Sarcophagus—Shafra—Bunsen's Theory—Third Pyramid—Three Vaults—Sarcophagus—Remains of Mycerinus—Inscription—Nitocris—Older Pyramids—Dashoor—Brick-work—SPHINX—Greek Legend—Description—Tombs—Prince Merhet—Lepsius—Saccara—Fulfilment of Prophecy—Heliopolis—Obelisks.*

NEXT to the great river the eye is attracted in Egypt to the Monuments which stand in long procession on its banks, the witnesses of an unknown but profound antiquity. They are more abundant and more perfect than the remains of any other country. India, the battle-field of countless generations, has nothing to compare with them. Babylon and Nineveh wrote their history in brick or perishable alabaster. Egypt, attaining to a greater superiority in art, was provided at the same time with a material well nigh indestructible, and a climate which could bid defiance to the ravages of time. Its monuments, constructed of granite, serpentine, breccia, and basalt, are of gigantic proportions, ornamented with sculptures and the most brilliant painting. They have been preserved, by the dryness and uniformity of the temperature, in astonishing freshness both of outline and colour. With no frosts to splinter, no storms to batter, no moisture to nourish lichens and creepers, the ruins

remain as new in appearance as when they were built. Outliving not their authors only, but their nation, religion, and history, these obdurate memorials confront the traveller with a persistent youth. They suffer mutilation, but not decay. They are overthrown, broken, carried away to all the capitals of Europe; still, though in fragments and apart, they maintain the impress received from African civilization, when Europe was wholly barbarous. They guard immovably and for ever the reputation of their age. Covered with delineations of the battles, triumphs, and domestic life of the people who erected them, they seem resolved that Ancient Egypt shall never die.

Still these monuments everywhere wrap themselves in mystery. They have a language as well as a story of their own. Strange characters are carved upon them, known to conceal a history which has perished from every other record; yet, though interrogated for ages, they have hitherto yielded no complete response. It is only within the present century that the key has been found to these mysterious archives, and their long-buried annals are still being slowly and painfully deciphered.

The monuments are found throughout Egypt and its former dependencies in Ethiopia and Libya. Besides statues, tablets, and obelisks, they consist of ruined temples, palaces, and especially of sepulchres. The Egyptians esteemed their private dwellings as temporary habitations, for which it was sufficient to use perishable materials. Their granite was reserved for the abodes of the gods, the halls of their kings, and the tombs which they accounted the real homes of mankind. These memorials may be called the state papers of the Pharaohs,—the native and only authentic



records of Ancient Egypt. Since the discovery of the key to their inscriptions, its history, previously derived from the reports of the Greek authors, has been written anew.

It is indispensable to have some idea of materials which are daily increasing in interest with the civilized world. To pretend to enumerate them in the order of date would be to determine beforehand the most important question dependent on their testimony. We shall, therefore, now reascend the Egyptian portion of the great river which we have traced from its source, for the purpose of noting the principal antiquities on either bank.

Alexandria, where the European traveller debarks, is a city too modern to be comprehended in the present survey. Its predecessor, Canopus, stood at the mouth of the Nile, about twelve miles to the eastward, but the exact position is unknown. It was not, indeed, till towards the end of the ancient dynasties that Egypt opened any access to foreigners by sea. Naucratis, the first open port, was founded on the left side of the Canopic mouth by Psamaticus (B.C. 648—614), and from that period Europe began its knowledge of Egypt. Other native ports of earlier days were Sais and Pelusium: the former was the site of one of the most celebrated temples of Lower Egypt, and the alleged place of embarkation of Cecrops when he sailed, in a boat made of papyrus, to Attica. It is not, however, till the Delta has been passed, and the traveller reaches the undivided Nile, that the more important monuments are encountered.

Ten miles above Cairo, at the then apex of the Delta, stood the ancient city of *Memphis*, the seat of the earliest monarchy, and the capital of Lower



Egypt. It was on the western side of the river, having a circumference of fifteen miles, and probably occupying the entire valley to the foot of the Lybian hills. At present it is represented by a few mounds near the village of Mitrahenny, covered with corn and grass, interspersed with date trees. The Nile here makes a bend to the north-west, and traces are said to remain of an arm in that direction. The tradition was that Menes, the founder, obtained a site for his capital by damming up this branch, and restraining the water to the eastern or main channel. This would be, in effect, to throw the point of separation and the apex of the Delta lower down the river; but it is not probable that so adventurous a piece of engineering would be attempted at the early period assigned to it. The first Memphis, doubtless, stood in the angle defended by the two branches; it was not till a later period, when one of them was become shallower from natural causes, and a want of room was experienced by an increasing population, that the work of nature was hastened by throwing up a dam, and occupying the dry bed behind it. This would account for the double tradition of its founder; Herodotus ascribing the city to Menes the first king, and Diodorus to a monarch many centuries later.

At Memphis was the great temple of Phthah, the chief divinity of Lower Egypt, with the celebrated hall of Apis. The only remaining monument, however, is a colossal figure of Rameses the Great, fallen on its face, and mutilated at both extremities, but which, when perfect, must have stood nearly forty-three feet high. It is doubtless one of the two statues thirty cubits in height which, according to Herodotus, were erected by Sesostris in front of the temple.

The most famous monuments of Memphis and of Egypt are the PYRAMIDS—structures so peculiarly belonging to the Memphite monarchy, that a pyramid is the hieroglyphic sign of the city. The word seems to be derived from *perami*, “lofty,” and is thought to be the same with the Hebrew *charaboth*, which in Job iii. 14 obviously signifies a sepulchre, though rendered in our version “desolate places.” Living in Arabia, Job would be well acquainted with these remarkable erections, and their purport is exactly expressed in his words—

“For now should I have lain still and been quiet,  
I should have slept: then had I been at rest,  
With kings and counsellors of the earth  
Who built themselves *pyramids*.”

A considerable number of pyramids of different sizes are disposed along the Libyan ridge, from below Cairo to the Faioom district. As many as sixty have been counted; but they obtained little attention till the recent explorations of Perring, and the Prussian commission under Lepsius. The following is a list of twenty-seven, which Bunsen supposes to cover the remains of as many sovereigns of Memphis: they are enumerated in the order in which they stand from north to south. *Abou Roash* (only the base remaining); *Ghizeh* (3); *Zowet el Arrian*, *Reegah*, *Abousir* (3); *Sakkara* (9); *Dashoor* (4); *Lisht* (2); *Meidoun*, *Illahoun*, and the *Labyrinth*.

Of these pyramids the first to challenge attention are the famous Three at Ghizeh, whose superior size and grandeur have almost monopolized the name, and long ranked them amid the wonders of the world. That these structures were designed to cover the

graves of their founders is a point no longer in doubt, since sepulchral vaults have been discovered with the remains of the dead; but that this was their sole intention is not yet beyond a question. No traces exist of their being ever intended (as was once supposed) for temples; though some ruins on the east sides of each may be the remains of such edifices.

The pyramids are ascertained to have been constructed on geometrical and astronomical principles;<sup>1</sup> the base of each being an exact square, and the sides corresponding with the four cardinal points. No such arrangement is observable in Egyptian temples, where the points of the compass were not at all regarded, and no two of them face in the same direction. In this particular the pyramids resemble the primitive "temple towers" of Babylon, save that in the latter it was the *angles*, not the sides, which fronted the cardinal points. The Chaldæan pyramids, too, were oblique, the slope being steeper on the south-western face than on the opposite; but the Egyptian are equal on all sides, and the apex is exactly in the middle. At Babylon, the entrance was in the north-east face; at Memphis, in the northern, the passage descending at an angle of about  $26\frac{1}{2}$  degrees<sup>2</sup> to the subterranean vault.

<sup>1</sup> In the Great Pyramid the perpendicular height is to the base as 5 to 8, and the base is to the slant height as half the base to the perpendicular. Baron von Bunsen has drawn out the design on mathematical principles, and shown that it consisted of four right-angled triangles, whose perpendicular sides coincide, their hypotenuses being the corners or edges of the four faces. Instead of the right angle, however, his calculations give an angle of  $41^{\circ} 28' 23''$ . He finds, also, the several chambers to be placed on proportionate levels; the Queen's at  $\frac{1}{7}$ th, the King's at  $\frac{2}{7}$ ths, and the upper space at  $\frac{3}{7}$ ths the perpendicular height.

<sup>2</sup> Great Pyramid,  $26^{\circ} 40'$ ; Third ditto,  $26^{\circ} 1'$ .

According to Diodorus, the great tower of the Temp<sup>l</sup> of Belus, in Babylon, was used as an observatory,<sup>1</sup> and his statement is held to be confirmed by the astronomical emplacement of the angles.<sup>2</sup> The emplacement is equally exact in the pyramids of Memphis. It is true that the Babylonian structures terminated in a level platform, with a flight of steps to conduct to it, while the Egyptian ones are assumed to have been continued to a point, with no means of ascending the sides. The fact, however, is, that several of the smaller pyramids still terminate in platforms; and it is obvious that all must have done so before the apex was completed.<sup>3</sup> This may have been delayed till the death of the founder, when the observatory was converted into a tomb. The Second pyramid, of which the summit is the least injured, has at this day a platform of nine feet square, and Diodorus expressly states that it had an ascent cut in one of the sides.

A question may be raised, also, how far the heavenly bodies may have been observed from the *interior*, by means of the inclined passages by which they are pierced. One of these in the Great pyramid is 342 feet long, and so accurately executed that the sky is visible from the furthest end. Through this prodigious tube, and in that cloudless atmosphere, the stars might have been easily observed at noonday. Moreover, the angle of elevation is ascertained to have pointed exactly to the star *a* of *Draco*, which was the pole-star about 2000 years B.C.<sup>4</sup>—a fact which

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic., ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Dict. Bible, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic., i. 63. This author seems to say that all the pyramids were six cubits square at the top.

<sup>4</sup> See the calculations of Sir. J. Herschel in the Appendix to Wyse's Pyramids, vol. ii., p. 107.



may prove to be an important criterion in determining the date of these mysterious antiquities.

The pyramids are of stone, and were probably built (like those of Babylon) in courses or stages, each receding within the lower, and regularly diminishing to the top, thus presenting on all four sides a succession of huge steps, which Herodotus calls altarets. On arriving at the top, the steps were filled out, or planed down, to a slope, and finished with a casing of fine white stone, working downward, so that on again reaching the ground the pyramid stood smooth and level on every side. The entrance was concealed under the casing, the slab which covered its mouth being left loose.

The casing was stripped off by the caliphs, who plundered the pyramids, and carried away its fine blocks to assist in building their new capital at Cairo. The Arabian writers speak of their being covered with numerous inscriptions, but Herodotus mentions only one, which was on the Great pyramid, and recorded the sums expended on radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen, amounting, as it was read to him, to 1600 talents of silver (£310,000). Diodorus expressly states there was no inscription on the Second pyramid; and none exists on any part of the casing which remains, or on the stones found at the base, or traced in the buildings at Fostat and Cairo. There is the less hesitation in rejecting the Moslem statement, since Perring has ascertained that the surface was carefully planed down by the builders.

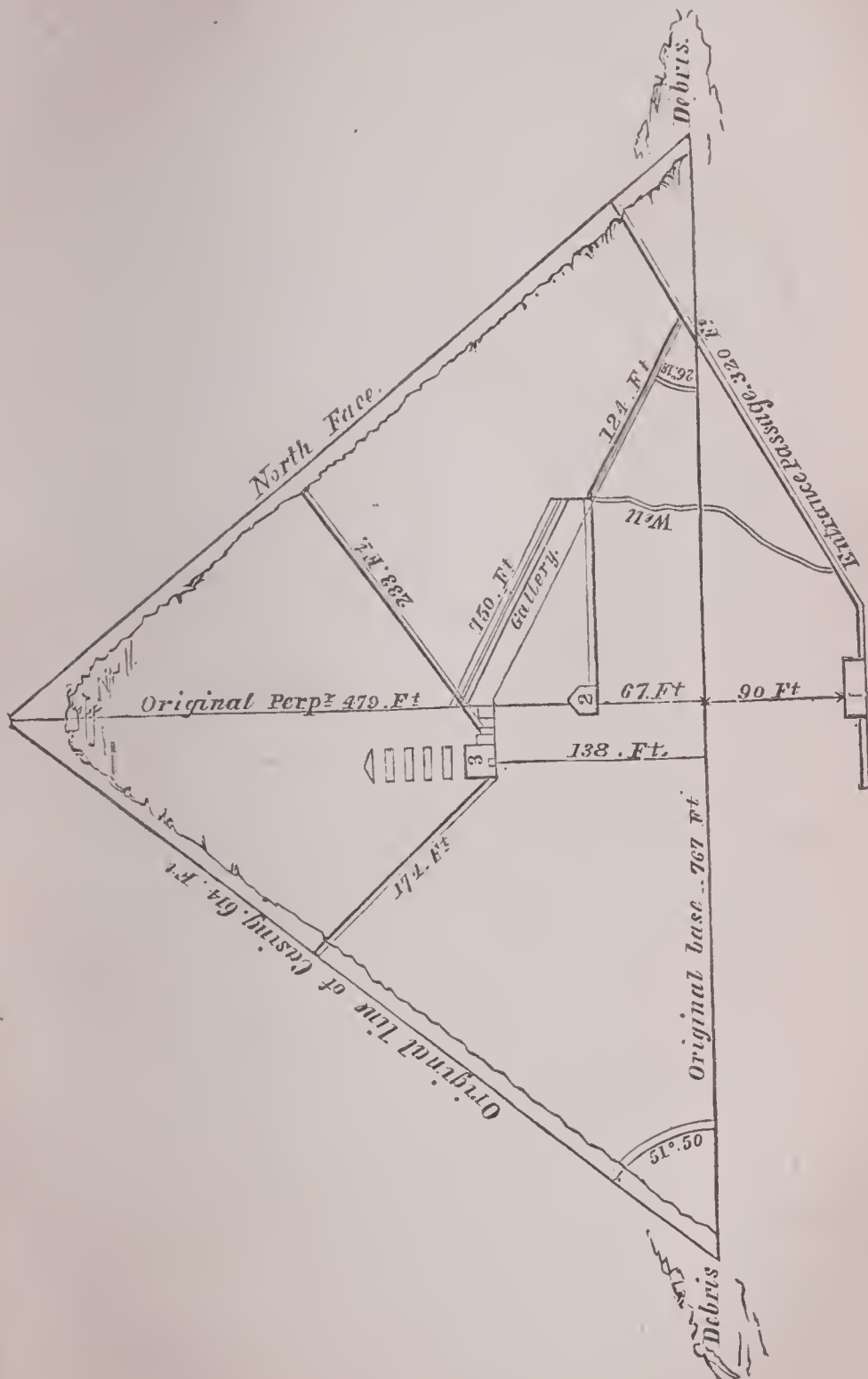
At present the sides again present the appearance of rude steps, by which the top may be reached with no great difficulty. The continued spoliations of ages have lowered the summits and encumbered the bases

with rubbish; circumstances which combine with the simple triangular outline to reduce the apparent magnitude of the pyramids. Standing solitary in the desert, remote from the abodes of men, with neither trees nor other objects of comparison in view, their first appearance is so little imposing, that the traveller experiences a sensation of disappointment. It is only after reflection and computation, aided by observing the human pigmies crawling up and down their sides, that he attains with difficulty to some just conception of their enormous magnitude. The impression is deepened almost into awe, when it is remembered that they are, beyond question, the oldest works of man in existence. They have stood unchanged, while empires rose and fell by their side, pointing to those cloudless skies, immovable and undecaying, for, perhaps, near four thousand years.

The following are the dimensions of these stupendous monuments, as measured by Mr. Perring.<sup>1</sup>

	1st Pyramid.		2nd.		3rd.	
	Present.	Original.	Present.	Original.	Present.	Original.
Sides of the base ....feet	746	767	690	705	352	352
Slant height ..... "	568	614	563	577	—	283
Perpendicular height .. "	450	479	447	457	203	219
Angle of elevation .. "	—	51°20	—	52°21	—	51°10
Area of the base, sq. yards	61,835	65,437	53,015	55,320	13,835	

<sup>1</sup> Baron Bunsen has pointed out that, in the present state of dilapidation, no admeasurements, however carefully taken, are more than an approximation. He has calculated the original dimensions on mathematical principles, as designed by the architects, and his results are here followed. He reckons the Egyptian cubit at 1·713 English foot.



SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID FROM NORTH TO SOUTH.

1. Subterranean Vault.
2. Queen's Chamber.
3. King's Chamber.

The Great pyramid is, therefore, more than half as long again on every side as Westminster Abbey, and, though deprived of more than thirty feet by the removal of its apex, it is still fifty feet higher than the top of St. Paul's, and more than twice as high as the central tower of York Minster. It covers thirteen acres of ground, equal to the area of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and is computed to have contained 6,848,000 tons of solid masonry.

It covers a subterranean vault in the rock, directly under the apex, and reached by a sloping passage from the entrance in the northern face. This vault, which measures forty-six feet by twenty-seven, is ninety feet perpendicular below the base of the pyramid. It is still, however, above the level of the Nile; and as Perring sank thirty-six feet further without discovering any lower excavation, the statement of Herodotus, that its waters were introduced by a subterranean passage, in order to insulate the corpse and treasures of the founder, is clearly erroneous. No sepulchral remains having at any time been found in this vault, it is probable that its owner's pains were wasted, and his body never reached the resting-place prepared at so great a cost.

The pyramid itself contains two chambers which have received the appellation of *King's* and *Queen's*. The latter is perpendicular over the subterranean vault at a distance of forty cubits, or one seventh the entire height from the base. It is lined with slabs of polished stone, very carefully finished, and artistically roofed with blocks leaning against each other to resist the pressure of the mass above. This apartment is reached by a second sloping passage, which rises at an angle of  $26^{\circ} 18'$  out of the first, about



sixty feet within the entrance,<sup>1</sup> and terminates in a gallery or hall twenty-eight feet high. From the entrance of the gallery a horizontal passage, 109 feet long, leads to the "queen's chamber," which measures 17 feet (north and south) by 18 wide, and is 20 feet high to the top of the inclined blocks. It is said to have contained an empty sarcophagus when entered by the Arabians.

The gallery continues to ascend at the same inclination till it reaches a sort of vestibule, which leads to the "king's chamber." The floor of this apartment is at exactly two sevenths the perpendicular height of the pyramid, but instead of occupying the centre from face to face, it is placed a little to the south and east, and is consequently not perpendicularly over the queen's chamber and the subterranean vault. The chamber itself is finished with as much care as the other, and measures 34 feet by 17, and 19 in height. The north and south walls are pierced by two shafts or tubes, about eight inches square, slanting up through the entire fabric, to the exterior of the pyramid. That which opens on the northern face is 233 feet long, that on the south being about 60 feet shorter. These are termed air-passages or ventilators, but no similar provision occurs in any other part of the pyramid, and such a use is unintelligible in a sepulchral chamber, carefully barred against future access.

It deserves to be considered whether these passages were not designed for *telescopes*, and the chamber for an observatory, before it became a tomb. The two tubes would appear to converge on the floor of the chamber, where a pan of water might reflect the heavenly bodies as they crossed the orifice,

<sup>1</sup> From the original exterior 85 feet. See Bunsen.

just as the solstice was observed in the well at Syene, and as the stars are noted at this day in a vessel of mercury, suspended at the bottom of a deep shaft in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. The sun's meridian on the one side, and the north star on the other, might have been thus observed; and that north and south were important points, is shown by all the sarcophagi being found lying in that direction.

The objection to this hypothesis is, that the northern tube *is not straight*, and consequently the sky is not visible from the chamber; but may not this be a mistake of the explorers in opening it out? It seems improbable that the original design should have been other than straight; and moreover, the angle of the southern tube is found to be exactly forty-five degrees.

The "king's chamber" contained a red granite sarcophagus without a lid; it was empty, and had neither sculpture nor inscription of any kind. The door was guarded by a succession of four heavy stone portcullises, intended to be let down after the body was deposited, and impenetrably seal up the access. The roof of the chamber is flat; and, in order to take off the weight above, five spaces, or *entre sols*, have been left in the structure.<sup>1</sup> On the wall of one of these garrets, never intended to be entered, General Vyse discovered, in 1836, what had been searched for in every other part of the pyramid in vain. Drawn in red ochre, apparently as quarry marks on the stones previously to their insertion,<sup>2</sup> are several hieroglyphic characters, among which is seen the oval ring which

<sup>1</sup> The lowest of these was discovered by Davison in 1763, and is called by his name. The others were detected by Vyse, who named them respectively Wellington, Nelson, Arbuthnot, and Campbell.

<sup>2</sup> The marks are observed to be only on the large stones brought from *Mocattam*.

encircles the royal titles, and within it a name which had already been noticed on an adjoining tomb. On the latter it was read *Shufu* or *Chufu*, a word sufficiently near in the Egyptian pronunciation to *Cheops*, whom Herodotus gives as the founder of the largest pyramid. It is to be observed, however, that in the pyramid itself, the name is joined with two other characters, reading *Num* or *Kneph*, the oldest Egyptian name for the divinity. As Eratosthenes mentions a Sensuphis, and Manetho a Suphis II., who succeeded the first Suphis, it is presumed that Kneph Chufu is the hieroglyphic name of that king. It is further presumed that the subterranean vault was constructed for the first monarch, and the "king's chamber" for his successor, by whose order the pyramid was completed.

One of the most singular features in this pyramid is a perpendicular shaft descending from the gallery in front of the queen's chamber down to the entrance passage underground, a depth of 155 feet. The workmanship shows that this well was sunk through the masonry *after* the completion of the pyramid, in all probability as an outlet for the masons, after barring the sloping ascent with a mass of granite on the inside, which long concealed its existence. The lower opening of the well was closed with a similar stone: the builders then withdrawing by the northern entrance, which was both barricaded and concealed under the casing, left the interior, as they supposed, inaccessible to man.

These extraordinary precautions go to confirm the tradition related by Herodotus, that Cheops was not buried in the vault he had prepared, but secretly in some safer retreat, on account of violence

apprehended from the people. As no other pyramid is known to contain an upper room, it seems not improbable that the "queen's chamber" was the refuge where his mummy lay concealed while the vault was broken open and searched in vain.

Lepsius has shown that the pyramids were constructed by degrees. The vault was excavated, and a course of masonry laid over it, in the first year of the king's reign. If he died before a second was constructed, the corpse was interred, and the pyramid built up solid above. With every year of the king's life an addition was made to the base as well as to the superstructure, so that the years of the reign might have been numbered by the accretions, as the age of a tree by its annual rings. When the last year came, the steps were filled out to a plain surface, the casing put on, and the royal corpse conveyed through the slanting passage to its resting-place in the rock. On this hypothesis the queen's chamber, having been, perhaps, constructed as an observatory, lay unsuspected in the centre of the pyramid when the founder died.

His successor, instead of laying a separate foundation, determined to raise his pyramid on the top of the other. From the apex of the latter he constructed the horizontal passage leading to the "king's chamber," which was thus pushed out of the centre, and then enlarging the base, and continuing the pyramid upward as usual, it finally attained its present dimensions. Thus, the queen's chamber, the real burying-place of Cheops, became to his successor's pyramid what the subterranean vault was to the others; and the king's chamber may have been contrived with



equal secrecy for an observatory in life, and a safe resting-place in death.<sup>1</sup>

The Second pyramid stands about 500 feet to the south-west of the First, and is so placed that the diagonals of both are in a right line. It is somewhat smaller, but stands on higher ground. The construction is similar to the other, save that no chamber has been discovered above ground. It was surrounded by a pavement, through which a second entrance, in front of the northern face, descends deep into the rock, and then rises again to meet the usual passage from the regular opening in the face of the pyramid. From the point of junction a horizontal passage leads to a vault, which bears the name of Belzoni; it measures forty-six feet by sixteen, and is twenty-two feet in height. It is entirely hewn in the rock, with the exception of the roof, which is formed of vast limestone blocks, leaning against each other and painted inside. When discovered, this vault contained a plain granite sarcophagus, without inscription, sunk into the floor. The lid was half destroyed, and it was full of rubbish. Some bones found in the interior turned out to be the remains of oxen; but the sarcophagus was not large enough to admit more than a human mummy. Besides the large vault, Belzoni found a smaller one, eleven feet long, and a third,

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen supposes the queen's chamber to have been intended for the performance of funeral rites; but no such use can be established from anything known of the Egyptian obsequies, nor is the chamber found in any other of the numerous pyramids which cover the dead. Its destination must remain a matter of pure conjecture, and that in the text is at least as probable as any other. If these kings were astronomers, or rather astrologers, they might well desire a secret chamber for their observations. In fact, the ancient tradition was that astronomy had been practised *in secret* by the Egyptians for thousands of years before it was divulged to the rest of the world.—*Sir G. C. Lewis's Ancient Astronomy*, p. 264.

measuring thirty-four feet by ten, and eight feet five in height, but neither contained any sepulchral remains.

The general workmanship of this pyramid is inferior to that of the larger one. It retains its outer casing for about 150 feet from the top, and is, consequently, more difficult of ascent. No name has been found on any part of the Second pyramid, and its erection is not mentioned by Manetho. A tradition preserved by Diodorus assigned it to Amasis<sup>1</sup>; but an adjacent tomb contains an inscription to a royal architect, in which the monarch is called "*Shafra* the Great of the Pyramid," and this has been supposed to be *Chephren*, the brother of Cheops, to whom Herodotus ascribes the Second pyramid.<sup>2</sup>

Some Egyptologists consider the Second pyramid in size to be the first in point of date, and the real work of Cheops. Bunsen has elaborated a theory according to which Shafra was the son, and Kneph Chufu the brother, of Cheops, whom they succeeded as joint sovereigns. These were the authors of the Great pyramid; the brother appropriating the subterranean vault, and the son the king's chamber. Lepsius, however, thinks it cannot be doubted, after his researches, that the Second pyramid is the work of Shafra, the First of Chufu or Cheops, and the Third of Menkera or Mycerinus.<sup>3</sup>

The Third or Red pyramid—so called from the

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic., i. 63.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diodorus his name was *Chabryis*, and Cheops was his father, not his brother.

<sup>3</sup> "*Letters from Egypt.*" This ingenious discoverer has employed his great talents, not only in deciphering forgotten antiquities, but in making new ones. We may smile at his nationality in lighting up a Christmas tree in the king's chamber, and kindling three bonfires on the tops of the pyramids at New Year's eve; but we cannot sympathize with the taste which dictated the painting of

colour of the granite casing which covered the lower half, and has protected its base from diminution—is described by the classical writers as the most sumptuous and magnificent of all. It certainly surpasses the other two in beauty and regularity of construction. It covers a suite of *three* subterranean chambers, reached as usual by a sloping passage from the northern face. The first is an anteroom twelve feet long, the walls panelled in white stucco. Its door was blocked by huge stones, and when these had been removed, three granite portcullises, in close succession, guarded the vault beyond. In this apartment, which measures forty-six feet by twelve, and is nearly under the apex of the pyramid, a sarcophagus had apparently been sunk, but none remained. The floor was covered with its fragments (as Perring supposed) in red granite; and Bunsen ascribes the fracture to Egyptian violence. Others, however, imagine these fragments to be only the chippings made by the masons in fitting the portcullises.

Beyond and below this vault is a second, somewhat smaller, in which General Vyse found an elegant sarcophagus of basalt: “the outside was very beautifully carved in compartments in the Doric style,”<sup>1</sup> or rather “had the deep cornice which is characteristic of the Egyptian style.”<sup>2</sup> It was empty, and the lid was found broken in the larger apartment. This valuable relic being very brittle, and in danger of disappearing

a laudatory inscription on Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia, *composed in hieroglyphics*, on the Pyramid of Cheops. The taste and propriety of recording, in such a place and character, that this monarch was the *chosen of Germany* and THE GIVER OF LIFE (!) may well be questioned. And we must protest against a confusion of conjecture and chronology which dated the inscription “in the year 3164 from the Sothic period of King Menephtes,” with no less confidence than in the year of our Lord 1842.

1 Bunsen, ii. 68.

2 Kenrick, i. 131.

under the curiosity of visitors, General Vyse removed the sarcophagus with great difficulty, and embarked it for England in 1838, but the vessel which conveyed it unfortunately went down off the coast of Spain.

This pyramid was opened by the Moslems in the thirteenth century, when, the narrator states, "nothing was found but the decayed rotten remains of a man, but no treasures on his side, excepting some golden tablets, inscribed with characters which nobody could understand."<sup>1</sup> This account does not specify in which of the two chambers the body was found; but as the writer mentions "a blue basin," and the sarcophagus found by Vyse exhibited that colour at its fractures, it was probably the same. Some portion of the remains were found in the outer apartment, along with the lid of the sarcophagus, and they are now deposited with it in the British Museum. They consist of a part of a skeleton, with some woollen cloth, and some of the resinous gum with which it had been embalmed.<sup>2</sup>

The lid of the sarcophagus bears an inscription in hieroglyphic characters, arranged in two perpendicular columns, which has been translated by Mr. Birch as follows:—

Osirian (deceased)	Netpe
King	over thee
Menkaru-ra	in her name of
Living for ever	the void of Heaven:
Engendered of Heaven!	she has made thee
Child of Netpe	to be as a god
Offspring	[annihilating]
[Beloved by Seb. (Time)]	thy slanderers
Extended is thy mother	O King Menkaru-ra
	Living for ever!" <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vyse, ii. 71.

<sup>2</sup> The knee-bone of the corpse is so strangely enlarged that some doubt has been expressed whether it was ever regularly embalmed.

<sup>3</sup> We offer the following version of this oldest of epitaphs:—



Netpe, here called the mother of the king, is stated to be the "void of heaven," that is, the starry heavens, on which account she was called also the mother of Osiris, who was confounded with the sun.

The most important part of the epitaph is the king's name, which is at once identified with *Mycerinus*, to whom Herodotus attributes the Third pyramid. He mentions, however, another legend which ascribed it to a beautiful woman; and Manetho says it was erected by Queen Nitocris, the last of the old Memphite sovereigns whose names he has preserved, and who lived 300 years later than Mencheres, of whom he knew nothing worthy of mention. The contradiction has been explained from the traces of *two* sarcophagi, and from other appearances which indicate the structure to be of two different ages. The original pyramid, which is thought to have been much smaller, may have covered the remains of Mycerinus, while Nitocris constructed the outer vault for herself, and enclosed the whole in the existing pyramid. In this case we must suppose the queen to have reinterred the remains of Mycerinus, whose sarcophagus was cut in panels of the same workmanship with the walls of her own vault, and of course to have added the epitaph found on its lid.

The questions still remain who Nitocris was? and when she lived? Of Manetho's Memphite queen no trace has ever been discovered on the monuments.

"Rest thee, Mycerinus, rest  
With Osiris ever blessed;  
Child of heaven, the heaven is o'er thee,  
Mother thine whose bosom bore thee,  
She has rescued thee from wrong,  
She has silenced slander's tongue.  
Rest thee, god-like Pharaoh, rest;  
Mycerinus ever blessed!"

Mr. Sharpe would identify her with the Theban Princess Numpt Amun, many centuries later; while many Greek writers affirm that the pyramid was built by the wife of Psamaticus of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. It is certain that this king's wife bore the name of Nitocris, and Lepsius has discovered that her husband assumed that of Mycerinus.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is possible that the Third pyramid may be 2000 years later than the First. It should be added that its entrance was not concealed, and the name of Mycerinus was written over it.<sup>2</sup>

The pyramids of Ghizeh have been considered the oldest of Egyptian antiquities; but the researches of Lepsius seem to ascribe a still greater antiquity to some of the smaller pyramids in the neighbourhood. Two at Dashoor are constructed of crude brick; one of these Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposed to be that described by Herodotus, as erected by Asychis the lawgiver. Baron Bunsen has endeavoured to identify this name with a predecessor of Cheops; but the hypothesis rests on a slender foundation, and is inconsistent with the statement of Herodotus, who places Asychis after Mycerinus. The later date is supported by the superiority of construction mentioned by the Greek writer, and confirmed by Mr. Perring: though built upon the sand, not a single brick has slipped from its place. It contains carvings also of a later date, and the occurrence of *hieratic* characters in the inscriptions is decisive of a comparatively late period.<sup>3</sup>

At the eastern edge of the platform of Ghizeh lies

1 Chron. der Ægyp., ap Lewis, p. 571.

2 Diod. Sic., i. 164. (Vyse's Pyramids, ii. 120.) This author notices a tradition which gave this pyramid to Inaron and the Second to Amasis.

3 Kenrick, i. 146.

the GREAT SPHINX, a fabulous monster, compounded of the bust of a man, with the body and legs of a lion. This combination is supposed to symbolize the union of intellect and power required in a king. The conception originated apparently in Thebes, and seems as intimately connected with that city as the pyramid is with Memphis. This gigantic monster is consequently some centuries later than the neighbouring pyramids. Bunsen is inclined to assign it to Thothmes IV.,<sup>1</sup> who is represented, in a tablet on the breast of the Sphinx, offering incense and libations.<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable that neither Herodotus, Diodorus, nor any classical writer before the Roman period, mentions this extraordinary monument, though the legend of the Sphinx connected with the Grecian Thebes must undoubtedly have been brought from Egypt. According to the Greek poets, the Sphinx had the bust and voice of a *woman*, the body of a dog, the tail of a serpent, the wings of a bird, and the paws of a lion. It was sent into the neighbourhood of Thebes (in Bœotia) by Juno, who persecuted the family of Cadmus (an emigrant from Egypt), and there ravaged the country by proposing enigmas, and devouring those who failed to resolve them. Œdipus, the king's son, having undertaken to encounter the monster, she demanded of him what animal walks in the morning on four feet, at noon on two, and in the evening on one? He answered *Man*, who in the morning of his life crawls on

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius would be "better satisfied" to think the Sphinx one of a pair designed to flank the entrance to "the temple of Chephren," which he assumes to have stood on the east face of the Second pyramid. He allows, however, that he has nowhere found the representation of the Sphinx in the times of the pyramid builders.—*Letters from Egypt*, p. 48.

hands and feet, walks erect in manhood, and in the evening of his days supports himself on a staff. On hearing this answer, the Sphinx dashed her head against a rock and expired.

In this tale the poets largely improved on the tradition brought them from Egyptian Thebes. There the Sphinx was without wings, and (with a few exceptions representing female sovereigns) had the face and beard of a *man*. It was an enigma, perhaps, to the Greek spectator; but there was no Egyptian tradition of its framing riddles or being endowed with life.

The Sphinx of Ghizeh is carved out of the living rock, excavated for the purpose to a depth of above sixty feet. The sands had so accumulated about the figure, that only the head, neck, and top of the back were visible, when Caviglia cleared the front a few years ago, at an expense of £800 or £900, contributed by some European gentlemen. The figure lies with its face to the Nile, with the paws protruded, in an attitude of majestic repose. The countenance has the semi-negro, or Ancient Egyptian, cast of features, but is much injured by the Arabs hurling their spears and arrows at the "idol." Fragments of the beard have been found, and some traces of red remain on the cheeks, which are perhaps of a later date. The head was covered with a cap, of which only the lower part remains. It is named in the hieroglyphics *Har-em-chu*, "Horus in the horizon;" that is to say, the Sun-god, the type of all the kings. This name is translated in one of the Greek inscriptions Harma-chis; from which possibly came the fable of Pliny, that a certain king Amasis (Armasis?) was entombed in the Sphinx.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius's Letters, vii.



The height from the crown of the head to the floor between the paws is seventy feet; the body is a hundred and forty feet in length, and the paws protrude fifty feet more. Between them was the altar or temple where sacrifices were performed to the Deity, which was apparently the Genius of the Theban monarchy. Rameses the Great is among the worshippers, and inscriptions on the paws testify to the continuance of the rite in the Roman age. A small building on the steps in front is inscribed to the emperor Severus, who visited Egypt A.D. 202.

From the floor, where the altar stood, a flight of forty-three steps ascended to a platform, whence an inclined plane led to the top of the rock facing the Sphinx. The whole intermediate space had been excavated with prodigious labour. Nothing could be grander than the appearance of this mysterious creature fronting the worshippers, and rising more and more over their heads, as they descended the long flights of steps to lay their offerings at its feet.

The hill of Ghizeh abounds in tombs of various ages, and more than a hundred have been opened by Lepsius. Their contents, which are among the latest contributions to the knowledge of Egyptian antiquities, seem to establish a nearer resemblance, than might previously have been supposed, between the habits of the ancient Memphites and those of Central and Upper Egypt. One tomb, adorned with pillars, and brilliantly painted, was the resting-place of a "Prince Merhet," a priest, and, as Lepsius thinks "more than probable," a son, of Chufu; he is described as "superintendent of the royal buildings." From these tombs the enthusiastic explorer says—"I could almost write a court and state directory<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Letters, iv.

time of King Cheops or Chephren." In another row of tombs Lepsius imagines he has discovered the remains of the Fifth Dynasty, hitherto supposed to have reigned at Elephantine contemporaneously with the Fourth at Memphis; but we must certainly hesitate to accept his conclusions, when he tells us "these are formed into one civilized epoch, dating about the year 4000 B.C."<sup>1</sup> The common fault of these Egyptologists is to assume a chronology in their own minds, and then attach it to the monuments, as if it were inscribed on them in unmistakable characters. Lepsius acknowledges that he has "not found a single cartouche that can be safely assigned to a period previous to the Fourth Dynasty. The builders of the great pyramid seem to assert their right to form the commencement of monumental history."<sup>2</sup> The date of his "civilized epoch," therefore, will depend on that of the pyramids, which no sober chronology places higher than 2400 B.C., while much may be said for a later date.

At Saccara are nine stone pyramids next in size to those of Ghizeh, and doubtless covering sepulchral vaults. In one of them not previously ransacked, a gallery contained as many as thirty mummies of the inferior class. For four miles the plain is covered with tombs and strewn with relics of the dead and their wrappings. Mummies of oxen, sheep, ibises, and dogs, are found entombed with the human remains.

These are all the evidences we possess of the first royal city of Egypt. Signally have the prophecies been fulfilled which predicted that Noph should be "waste and desolate without an inhabitant;"<sup>3</sup> that "the images should cease out of Noph;"<sup>4</sup> that "Memphis should

<sup>1</sup> Letters, vi.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. v.    <sup>3</sup> Jer. xlv. 19.    <sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxx. 13.

bury”<sup>1</sup> the apostate Israelites. A green mound is all that now marks the site of this ancient city: though once “full of idols,” their traces have utterly disappeared, and all that remains is a vast charnel-house.

On the opposite side of Cairo, to the north-east, is the site of Heliopolis or On, called by Jeremiah Bethshemesh, “the house of the sun.”<sup>2</sup> Here was the great Temple of Ra, the third of the chief gods of Lower Egypt. Joseph’s father-in-law was a priest or prince of this city. Moses was reputed to have here studied the wisdom of the Egyptians.<sup>3</sup> Plato, and perhaps Pythagoras, with other of the Greek sages, came to learn the mysteries of its famous college. An old sycamore in its neighbourhood shades a well, which is said to have refreshed Joseph and Mary, with the Holy Child, on their first arrival in Egypt. In a garden of oranges and lemons still stands a solitary obelisk, bearing the name of Osirtasen, or, as Bunsen writes it, Sesortasen, of the Twelfth Dynasty, being the oldest *Theban* monument in Lower Egypt. The yet larger obelisk erected here by Thothmes was conveyed to Rome by the Emperor Constantine II., and now stands in front of the church of St. John Lateran. The shaft is 105 feet in height, and covered with the finest sculptures.

1 Hos. ix. 6.

2 Jer. xliii. 13.

3 Manetho mentions an Egyptian fable that the leader and law-giver of the Israelites was a *priest* of Heliopolis. Without admitting the character thus ascribed to Moses, we may well suppose that, under the patronage of Pharaoh’s daughter, his youth would be spent in the most celebrated place of instruction, and even the secret lore of the priesthood would not be withheld from him.

## CHAPTER III.

## MONUMENTS OF UPPER EGYPT.

*Quarries—Beni Hassan—Eastern Bank—Pictures—Tombs of Nahar-si-Numhept and Amen Amenemha—Years of Famine—Jacob's Immigration—Nus—Speos Artemidos—Bersheh—Panopolis—Abydos—This—Tablet of Kings—Value of such Evidence—Denderah—Athor—Cleopatra's Portrait—Zodiac—True Date—THEBES—Name—Homer's Hundred Gates—Temple of Amun—Tablet of Karnak—Pillared Hall—River Court—Shishak—Scripture Coincidences—Avenue—Palace at Luxor—Birth of the God—The Menephtheion—Rameseion—Osiride Pillars—Hall of Panegyries—Library—Colossi of Memnon—Legends—Medinet Aboo—Tirhakah—Sesostris—Western Sepulchres—Apes' Burial-place—Tomb of Roschere—Brick-making—Sepulchres of the Kings—Human Sacrifices—Tombs of the Queens—Latopolis—Zodiac—Temple of Edfou—Philæ—Brazen Serpent—Labyrinth—City of the Crocodile—Intricate Chambers—Founder's Name.*

ASCENDING the Nile from Cairo, the quarries of Masarah and Toora, which supplied the stone for the casing of the pyramids, are passed about nine miles up.<sup>1</sup> On the western side of the river, above Memphis, was Heracleopolis, the seat of a royal dynasty, occupying the mouth of the valley leading to the Faioom. The opposite bank contains the grottos of Beni Hassan, the burial-place of the Twelfth Dynasty, and, next to the pyramids, the oldest royal tombs of Egypt. The dead were generally interred on the *western* bank of the Nile, the region of the setting sun, and the quarter where *Amenti*, the world beyond the grave, was supposed to lie. In this part of the valley, however, the eastern hills approaching close to the river induced the inhabitants to form catacombs in their sides. They are of great extent, entered by portals carved in imitation of doors, and hollowed into chambers coloured to resemble stuccoed walls.

<sup>1</sup> Here was the "Trojan hill" of Strabo and Ptolemy, supposed to be so named from the Trojan captives brought by Menelaus on his return from the war.



The pictures on these walls, with those more recently discovered at Memphis, supply our earliest information of Egyptian art and manners. The corpse was surrounded by representations of all it had loved to look upon in life. The processes of trade and manufactures, field-sports, the exercises of war, religious ceremonies, domestic employments and amusements, are all faithfully depicted. The traveller, beholding them by the light of his torch, feels carried back into the midst of a departed people. Scribes are registering the produce, soldiers attacking a fort, men and women fishing, playing the harp, catching balls, kneading bread, the surgeon letting blood, the barber shaving, glassblowers at work, old and decrepid persons tending cattle.

One of these mansions of the dead is faced by an architrave, supported on fluted pillars, strongly resembling the Doric architecture. The chamber within is thirty feet square, painted in colours, which are still astonishingly vivid. The inscription shows it to be the tomb of a military chief named Nahar, son of Numhept, and his wife Rotei. A long list of titles and appointments held by his family in the Heptanomis is inscribed on the wall. He himself was a duke (*repa*), advanced to that dignity in succession to his mother, and a privy councillor (*sab ua*, "wise man"). He succeeded his father in the nomarchy or government of the district. A speech put into his own mouth describes him as "blessed by the king, praised by his courtiers, more intelligent than the wisest of his prefects;—never bowed servants so before to their master."

Similar titles and self-laudations are found in the adjoining tomb of Ameni Amenemha, a captain of infantry, duke, privy councillor, seal-bearer, and governor

of the goat district. With these dignities were conjoined the comptrollership of the royal household, wardrobe, and pleasure grounds, together with the somewhat anomalous office of "superintendent of priests." He has also the high title of "king's acquaintance" or "cousin"—a compliment to nobility far older, it would thus appear, than the feudal system.<sup>1</sup>

Still more interesting is the fact recorded by Ameni of "*years of famine*" happening in his time, during which he boasts that he supplied his own district with food. Some authorities are of opinion that this inscription refers to the famine connected with the elevation of Joseph; and in the tomb of Nahar, a large painting, representing a procession of foreigners, may even be an actual picture of the arrival of Jacob and his family in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Lepsius found a series of still earlier tombs a little below Beni Hassan, at Zauiet el Meitin, in five of which is the cartouche of Apappus or Pepi, whom he takes for the centenarian king of Manetho's Sixth Dynasty. These tombs belonged to a city called Nus, on the left bank of the Nile. A little above Beni Hassan was the temple of Pasht, the Egyptian Diana, excavated in the rock by Thothmes III., and called Speos Artemidos by the Greek writers.

A grotto at El Bersheh contains a sculpture, showing the mode in which the ponderous monuments were transported to their places. The colossal statue is drawn on a sledge by four rows of forty-three men, each harnessed with ropes; a superintendent is pouring oil on the sledge to make it run easy, and another is clapping his

<sup>1</sup> See a paper by Mr. Birch in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. v., new series.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter xii.

hands to give the time for a strong pull and a pull all together.

After passing between the alabaster quarries on the east, and the site of Lycopolis (now *Siut*) on the west, we reach the ancient Panopolis, the city of the god Chem, whom the Greeks turned into Pan. Bearing the name of the country and its first patriarch (Ham), he was probably one of the oldest of the Egyptian deities.

The next place of importance is Abydos, the representative of This, the most ancient city of Upper Egypt, and in all probability the seat of its earliest monarchy. This was pre-eminently the city of Osiris. Being accounted in a peculiar manner his burying place, it was the favourite cemetery of his worshippers, and the adjacent hills are filled with their tombs. Here we first encounter the great temple buildings. The ruins are extensive and of high antiquity, though nothing is really identified of an earlier date than Rameses the Great and his father Setei or Osirei. It was here that Mr. Bankes discovered, in 1818, the famous "Tablet of Abydos," now one of the treasures of the British Museum, and of the utmost importance in determining the royal succession and chronology of Ancient Egypt. Rameses is depicted sitting on his throne, and contemplating the shields or hieroglyphic names of his predecessors. These are arranged in two rows of twenty-six each, while a third line consists of his own name continually repeated. The stone is unfortunately much mutilated, and has failed to satisfy the hopes, entertained at its discovery, of fixing beyond doubt the fifty-two kings who preceded Rameses. When compared with a similar tablet of earlier date found at Karnak, the two authorities, whilst they agree in some names, yet

differ so hopelessly in others as to raise the suspicion that one or both may be genealogical rather than historical; representing, that is, the king's family ancestors, not his predecessors on the throne.

In either case monuments of this sort only show the belief of the day in which they were erected. If Queen Elizabeth had placed such a tablet on the walls of Westminster Abbey, it would undoubtedly have begun with Brutus, the Trojan King, as having founded the British monarchy, and given his name to our island. The succession would have been traced through his three sons to Ebraucus of York, with his twenty sons and thirty daughters, Leil of Carlisle, Bladud of Bath, Lear and his three daughters, Belinus and Brennus, who captured Rome, Gordonius and Elidure, and so on to Lud, the founder of London, and his brother Cassibelaunus, the conqueror of Julius Cæsar. All these were as firmly believed in, three centuries ago, as William the Conqueror or the wars of the Red and White Roses. Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton accepted these legends for English history; and Rameses the Great was probably no better instructed in that of Egypt, when he begun his pedigree with Menes the first King of Egypt after the gods, and made himself the fifty-third successor of that renowned founder.<sup>1</sup>

Denderah, or Tentyris, higher up the Nile on the western bank, contains a temple which secures considerable attention, both from its fine preservation and from its being the first of the kind to meet the eye of the European voyager. It was dedicated to

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this paragraph the author has found a similar remark in the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients," p. 359, where other instances of the same kind are referred to.



Athor, the Egyptian Venus, whose face, repeated on the capitals of the pillars, has been said to look down on her votaries with a peculiar sweetness and majesty. It is certainly a handsomer countenance than that of any other Egyptian idol, but is still far from any similarity to the exquisite loveliness of the Greek Aphrodite. The goddess is depicted with the horns and ears of a cow, her significant emblem, and is perhaps but another form of Isis.

This temple is not properly a monument of Ancient Egypt, being erected in the time of the Ptolemies. It is chiefly remarkable from containing a supposed contemporary portrait of Cleopatra (whose features will disappoint the expectations of an European as much as those of the goddess), and for a zodiac painted on the ceiling of the portico, once supposed to be of a very remote antiquity. The French astronomers assigned to it a date three or four thousand years before the Christian era, and great was the triumph of unbelievers at so authentic a disproof of the Mosaic narrative. The zodiac, however, has been taken down and transported to Paris, where the discovery of the true method of reading hieroglyphics has converted it into a signal humiliation and discomfiture to the sceptical school. It is ascertained to have been constructed in the reign of Nero, a little after the Christian era.<sup>1</sup>

Passing Coptos and Apollinopolis Parva, the explorer arrives at last at *Thebes*, a city probably some centuries younger than Memphis and This; yet more than either the centre of poetical and chronological interest. The second capital of Upper Egypt, it became by the arms of its princes the seat of a

<sup>1</sup> Letronne, Sur l'Origine Grecque des Zodiaques pretendus Egyptiens. Paris, 1837.

monarchy extending from the island of Meroe to the peninsula of Sinai, and, if we are to believe the Egyptologists, exacting tribute up to the confines of India. This renowned city occupied the only plain of any extent in the valley of Upper Egypt. Its site is represented by the four villages of Karnak and Luxor on the eastern bank, and on the western Qoorneh and Medinet Abou, properly *Medina Taboo*, "the city of Thebes." They enclose an area, formed by a backward sweep of the hills, of five miles long and three broad. The Nile enters this area, in a more majestic stream than at any other point of its course, but is soon after interrupted by a group of islands, which (although bridges are not known to have existed) must have greatly facilitated the transit from side to side. The plain is widest on the eastern bank, and here stood the city of Amun, the Diospolis of the Greeks, and the No Amon of Holy Scripture.<sup>1</sup> It extended from the temple of Karnak on the south, to that of Luxor on the north. The western bank contained the Necropolis; and though also enriched with palaces and temples, the population was chiefly devoted to the care of the dead. It is not known that any buildings existed on the islands.

The name Thebes is derived from *Tape*, "the capital,"<sup>2</sup> and was erroneously confounded by the Greeks with that of their own Bœotian city. Homer describes the Egyptian Thebes as—

"Pouring her heroes through a hundred gates—  
Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars  
From each wide portal issuing to the wars."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xlvi. 25; Nahum iii. 8 (margin).

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius gives another etymology from Ap, or, with the article prefixed, Tap, a small temple of Amun.

<sup>3</sup> Pope's Iliad, ix., 503.

No traces, however, exist either of the hundred gates or the city walls. Some writers would, therefore, understand the poet to refer to the numerous temple and palace gates, which formed a conspicuous feature in the architecture of the city; but the truth is, Homer knew nothing of Egypt, and the passage only indicates the force of his imagination, dilating on the distant, undiscovered, East.

The temple of Amun stood at Karnak, a little way back from the Nile, and was perhaps founded by Sesortasen,<sup>1</sup> the head of the Twelfth Dynasty, whose shield has been found on some columns in the oldest part. It was enlarged and beautified by the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who, according to the tablet of Abydos, were the immediate successors of the Twelfth. Succeeding rulers made additions, more or less important; and every conqueror loved to have his victories recorded on its walls, as the Capitol of the Theban race.

The sanctuary itself was a comparatively small granite apartment, surrounded by a number of lesser cells, recalling the time when the first temples were caves or grottoes hollowed in the rock. It was approached through courts adorned by gates and colonnades, and covering, with the other buildings, a space of about 1800 square feet, enclosed by a brick wall. The enclosure was entered through a gate-tower in the southern face, which led into a court where are two obelisks of Thothmes;<sup>2</sup> one erect and perfect, the other lying in pieces on the ground. In a second court beyond were two more obelisks, of which that which remains is ninety-two feet high, being the loftiest but one in existence. To the right of this

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise *Osirtasen*, see ch. xii.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. xiii.

court stood the sanctuary, with its attendant chambers, in one of which was found the famous "tablet of Karnak." It represents Thothmes III.<sup>1</sup> offering gifts to his ancestors or predecessors. A series of sixty-one monarchs is disposed in four lines round the walls, the names of each being inscribed in hieroglyphics. This monument ought to be of the utmost importance in determining the royal successions and chronology of Egypt; but a considerable number of the names are unknown, and it is found impossible to reconcile it with the later tablet of Abydos, and other similar memorials.

Opposite the sanctuary on the other side of the second court, a gateway, bearing the name of Rameses the Great,<sup>2</sup> opens into a hall erected by that king's father, Sethos, and described as, next to the Pyramids, the most impressive and wonderful of all the remains of ancient Egypt. Its dimensions (329 by 170) would enable the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris to stand in it without touching the walls;<sup>3</sup> from the floor to the ceiling was 80 feet, the stone roof being supported by 134 massive columns in sixteen rows. The pillars of the two central rows, twelve in number, are 11 feet in diameter, and 66 feet high; it would take six men with extended arms to embrace their circumference. The seven rows on either side contain 122 columns, 41 feet 9 inches high, and 9 feet in diameter. The width between the central columns is 17 feet; light and air were admitted by openings above the side rows, like clerestory windows. "No people (writes Champollion) ever carried the art of architecture to so sublime a standard.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter xiii.

<sup>3</sup> The larger English cathedrals are all longer.



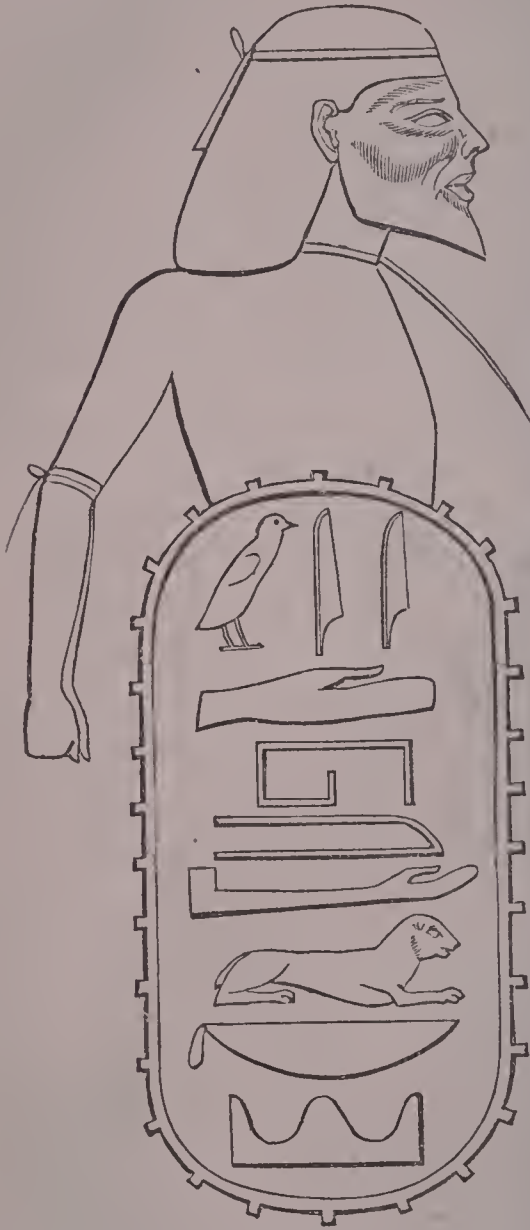
The imagination which overleaps our puny porticoes, falls exhausted and powerless before the 140 columns of the pillared hall at Karnak." The columns, however, must have been too crowded for any grand effect; and, though brilliant with colour and sculpture, are decidedly *barbaresque* in point of taste. Of the columns a great number are still standing, but the water of the inundation is gradually loosening the soil, and undermining their bases. The walls are adorned with bas reliefs expressive of the exploits of the founder, Setei Menephthah and his son Rameses the Great. These enormous halls are supposed to have been intended for the celebration of the religious assemblies called *panegyries*, which were periodically held in Egypt.

On the river side of the hall a gateway more than 40 feet high opens into a lobby which conducts to a court 275 feet by 329, having a covered cloister on either side, and a double row of columns down the centre.<sup>1</sup> Rameses also added a private sanctuary at the end of the court, the door of which was on the other side, and approached by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, flanked by two granite statues of himself.

Among the sculptures of this temple are seen the names of the nations conquered by Amunmai Sheshonk, *i. e.*, the Shishak who captured Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam (B. C. 971). This monument very remarkably confirms the narrative of Holy Scripture. The king, represented, as usual, of gigantic size, has a number of captives before him, whom he is about to put to death; the prisoners are presented to him bound by the god Amun-re, and shields are attached to the cords, bearing the names or emblems of the

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt* ii., 247.

vanquished. On the first is the *lotus*, the symbol of the south; the second bears the *papyrus*, the symbol



of the north; and we learn from the book of Chronicles that both Lybia and Ethiopia were in subjection to Shishak when he invaded Judea.<sup>1</sup> The third shield bears the character *Penne*, denoting the western bank of the Nile, with the "nine bows," which are the symbol of Libya. Several names have been deciphered corresponding with more or less certainty to those of the Bible;<sup>2</sup> one, which is beyond all doubt, is *Joudhmalk*, i. e., *Joudah Melek*, "king of Judah." The designation "land," which is added, denotes that places, not persons,

are meant; this is, therefore, a contemporaneous monument of the conquest of Judea; and it is worthy of all notice that the first *certain* voice which meets us

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 3; Jer. xlvi. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Mahanima=Mahanaim, Gen. xxxii. 2. Baithorn=Beth-horon, 1 Kings ix. 17; 2 Chron. viii. 5. Makto=Megiddo, 1 King ix. 15.

in the ruins of Thebes, is an echo of the Divine Record which shall never pass away.

Magnificent as the interior of this temple may have appeared, it was approached by an avenue still more extraordinary and majestic. In front of the principal gate-tower, or *pylon*, stretched a broad *dromos* (or avenue), lined by double rows of *ram-headed* sphinxes draped in thick folds from the back of the head to the breast. There were sixty or seventy of these creatures at distances of eleven feet apart. From the end of this avenue a similar *dromos*, lined with rams couched on pedestals, led off to a temple enclosing a lake for the performance of funeral solemnities; while a third avenue of *sphinxes* conducted from the same point to the portico of the palace at Luxor, a distance of 6000 feet from the temple at Karnak.

In this palace the traces of numerous apartments are discerned. They comprise a sanctuary with the birth-chamber of the god, which in compliment to the reigning Pharaoh is represented as his own. The infant is Amunoph III., by whom the palace was erected, and the goddess-mother is Mautmes, the queen of Thothmes IV.<sup>1</sup> The palace was connected by a colonnade with a court surrounded by cloisters supported on double columns, from which a gateway, fifty-one feet in height and flanked by pyramidal wings, opened towards the river. In front of this gate are two sitting statues of Rameses the Great, once forty feet high, but now buried up to the breasts by the accumulations of centuries. Before them rose a pair of obelisks sixty or seventy feet in height, one of which now stands in the Place de la Concorde at Paris: from these a jetty of brick and stone led to the waterside. The

<sup>1</sup> See ch. xiii.

Luxor ruins are called the *Amenophion*, in reference to the king by whom they were principally erected.

Opposite to them, on the western bank of the Nile, are those called the *Menephtheion*, an edifice of the oldest style, comprising a temple and a palace, and approached by an avenue of columns 128 feet long. A still more remarkable edifice was the *Rameseion* planted on the rise of the hill, and having flights of steps from one court to another. Two pyramidal entrance-towers admitted to an open court surrounded by a double colonnade. On the left of the steps, leading up to the second court, is still seen the pedestal of the enormous statue of Rameses, which Diodorus describes as the largest in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The court is filled with its fragments, among which are part of the foot, proving this member alone to have been eleven feet long. The breadth across the shoulders was twenty-two feet four inches; the total height fifty-four feet. The weight is calculated at 887½ tons. This enormous mass of granite was extracted in one piece from the quarries at Syene, and polished to a perfect smoothness.

The second court is surrounded by the *Osiride* pillars<sup>2</sup> mentioned by Diodorus; and this circumstance, with some sculptures of Rameses the Great on the walls, identify these remains with the monuments of Osymandyas.<sup>3</sup> In this court was the head of red granite known as the *young Memnon*, now in the British Museum, whither it was removed by the ingenuity of Belzoni. It belonged to a statue which was more than twenty-two feet high—one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Diod. i. 47.

<sup>2</sup> These are colossal figures of Osiris, or of sovereigns with the attributes of Osiris, resembling the Greek Caryatides, save that no weight is imposed upon them.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. i. 48.



perfect specimens of Egyptian art. Beyond the court are the remains of a hall dedicated to the *panegyries*, 133 feet broad by 100 long. The roof was supported by forty-eight columns, twelve of which are thirty-two and a half feet high, and twenty-one and a quarter in circumference. This saloon is sculptured with representations of Rameses worshipping the deities, in company with his twenty-three sons and six princesses, elegantly clothed, with a sistrum in their hands. Nine smaller apartments lay behind, one of which, supposed to be the Sacred Library,<sup>1</sup> is distinguished by sculptures of Thoth, the inventor of letters, accompanied by the goddess Saf, with the title "Lady of Letters," and "President of the Hall of Books." In this room was an astronomical ceiling, representing the twelve Egyptian months: the inscription had been carried off by the Persians before Diodorus visited Egypt.

A little higher up the Nile are the ruins of the palace of Amunoph III., the Memnon of the Greeks. It was dedicated to Sokaris Osiris, whose name appears on the fragments in company with Amun-re. Between the palace and the river are the two famous Colossal statues which probably formed the entrance to an avenue of similar figures leading up to the buildings. Though in a sitting posture they are sixty feet high, and each of a single block of stone. In general character they resemble the smaller statues in the British



<sup>1</sup> Diod. i. 49.

Museum. The bodies are without motion, the faces without expression, the eyes looking straightforward. Yet a certain grand simplicity occasions them to be universally admired. The northern figure is that which the Greeks called *Memnon* the son of Aurora. It was believed to emit a melodious sound every morning as a salutation to his rosy-fingered mother. It was broken before the Roman period, as some say by Cambyses who conquered Egypt B.C. 526, but according to others by an earthquake. Juvenal refers to this mutilation in the lines—

“Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,  
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ  
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.”<sup>1</sup>

The fractures have since been repaired with pieces of sandstone.

The Egyptians believed that before the injury the seven mysterious vowels were heard from this colossus. Another account made it breathe out a mournful note at sunset as a farewell to the day. Pausanias describes the sound as resembling the snapping of a musical chord; Strabo as like the noise of a blow. Some of the classical authors thought the notes were emitted from a lyre held by the statue; but Sir Gardner Wilkinson discovered a stone in the lap of the figure which, on being struck, yielded a sound as of brass.

Various explanations have been offered on the recurrence of the notes at sunrise, some ascribing it to the change of temperature, and some to an artifice of the priests. The fact itself, however, has never yet been sufficiently established. Strabo heard a sound, but

<sup>1</sup> “The sacred baboon’s golden image shines where the magic chords resound from the cracked Memnon, and ancient Thebes lies buried with her hundred gates.”—Sat. xv. 4.

could not be sure that it proceeded from the statue. Pliny and Tacitus mention it, but never heard it themselves; and the figure has long been incontestably dumb.

A high mound in the village of Medinet Aboo represents the largest of the temples on the western bank. It is ascribed to Thothmes I., but is chiefly remarkable for containing the name of a much later Pharaoh, Tirhakah, one of the Ethiopian rulers of Egypt, who is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah.<sup>1</sup> Adjoining this palace was a pavilion, differing in character from every other Egyptian antiquity. It was of two stories, and had larger and more numerous windows than are usual. An avenue of 265 feet in length runs from this building to a palace built by Rameses the Great, of which only the two courts and their entrance towers are discernible. All are sculptured over with the exploits of this famous monarch; in one place he is represented with a lion running by his side, an incident agreeing with what is stated of Sesostris by the Greek writers.

All along from Qoorneh to Medinet Aboo the banks are full of sepulchres. The face of the hill is pierced with rectangular openings, leading into the heart of the rocks, and ending in chambers one beyond another. The walls are mostly stuccoed, and painted with scenes of everyday life, acts of worship, funeral ceremonies, and historical events. They are ornamented in arabesques of various patterns, the hieroglyphics being so minute and abundant that a space of forty or fifty feet contains nearly 1200 characters.

The mummies are piled on each other or laid in rows, never upright. The sepulchres of priests and

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxxvii. 9.

persons of rank are excavated in the higher and more solid parts of the rock, but no separation of castes has been traced. Mummies of sacred animals are found in many of the graves, and one part has received the name of "The Apes' Burial Place," from the number of embalmed baboons it contains. One of the most interesting tombs is that of *Roschere*, described as "Superintendent of the Great Buildings" to king Thothmes III. On its walls is represented the process of brick-making; some are working up the clay, others carrying it on their shoulders, or moulding it into bricks, or placing them to dry in the sun. The colour and physiognomy of the workmen denote them to be foreigners, and the aquiline nose and yellow complexion are unmistakable signs of the children of Israel. Thothmes belonged to the Eighteenth Dynasty. He erected several large buildings in brick. As the Egyptians never *burned* their bricks, but only baked them in the sun, they required straw to be mixed with the clay to make them more consistent.<sup>1</sup>

The royal sepulchres are in a lonely glen called by the Arabs *Bab-el-Melook*, i.e., "Gate of the Kings." Twenty-one have been numbered by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, all monarchs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties. Only those of Amunoph III. and Rameses the Great, the kings of longest reigns, are complete in all their parts. The most splendid is the tomb of Setei-Menephthah, 320 feet in length. Near it was a saloon, in the centre of which stood the fine alabaster sarcophagus, now in the museum of Sir John Soane. The mummy was gone when Belzoni found it, and the lid of the sarcophagus was broken to pieces. An apartment

<sup>1</sup> Exod. v. 10—19.





BRICK-MAKING—FROM THE TOMB OF ROSCHIERE.

beneath contained an astronomical ceiling; the sky was painted of a brilliant azure, and the stars white. All the walls are covered with figures and hieroglyphics. The tomb of Rameses IV., called that of Memnon, represents the soul of the deceased under the image of the sun passing successively through the twenty-four hours. The same idea is astronomically exhibited on the ceiling.<sup>1</sup> The hall preceding that of the sarcophagus is dedicated to the four genii of Hades. The king appears in it before the forty-two judges or assessors of Osiris, and as many columns of hieroglyphics express the laudatory sentence passed by each on the deceased. Another tomb is called the Harpers, from a picture of two persons playing on that instrument.

Processions of prisoners or victims are represented in these tombs, some of whom are apparently Jews, and others negroes. Unmistakable evidence of the practice of human sacrifice was here discovered by Colonel Howard Vyse. Headless figures are lying on the ground with the sacrificial knife hard by; others are kneeling with the arms bound to a stake, surmounted by the head of a jackal (the emblem of death). In one place a row of figures are held down each by a *priestess*, the blood spouting in a torrent from an incision in the crown of the head into a basin or cup placed in front.<sup>2</sup>

A separate place of interment was allotted to the queens about 3000 feet from the temple at Medinet Abou. They all bear the title of *wife of Amun*, and are supposed to be the consorts of the kings buried in the Bab-el-Melook. Twenty-four have been counted, twelve of whom are known to be queens; but the

1 Champollion, 229.

2 Vyse's Pyramids, i. 88.

sculptures are very much destroyed, save on that of Taia, queen of Amunoph III.

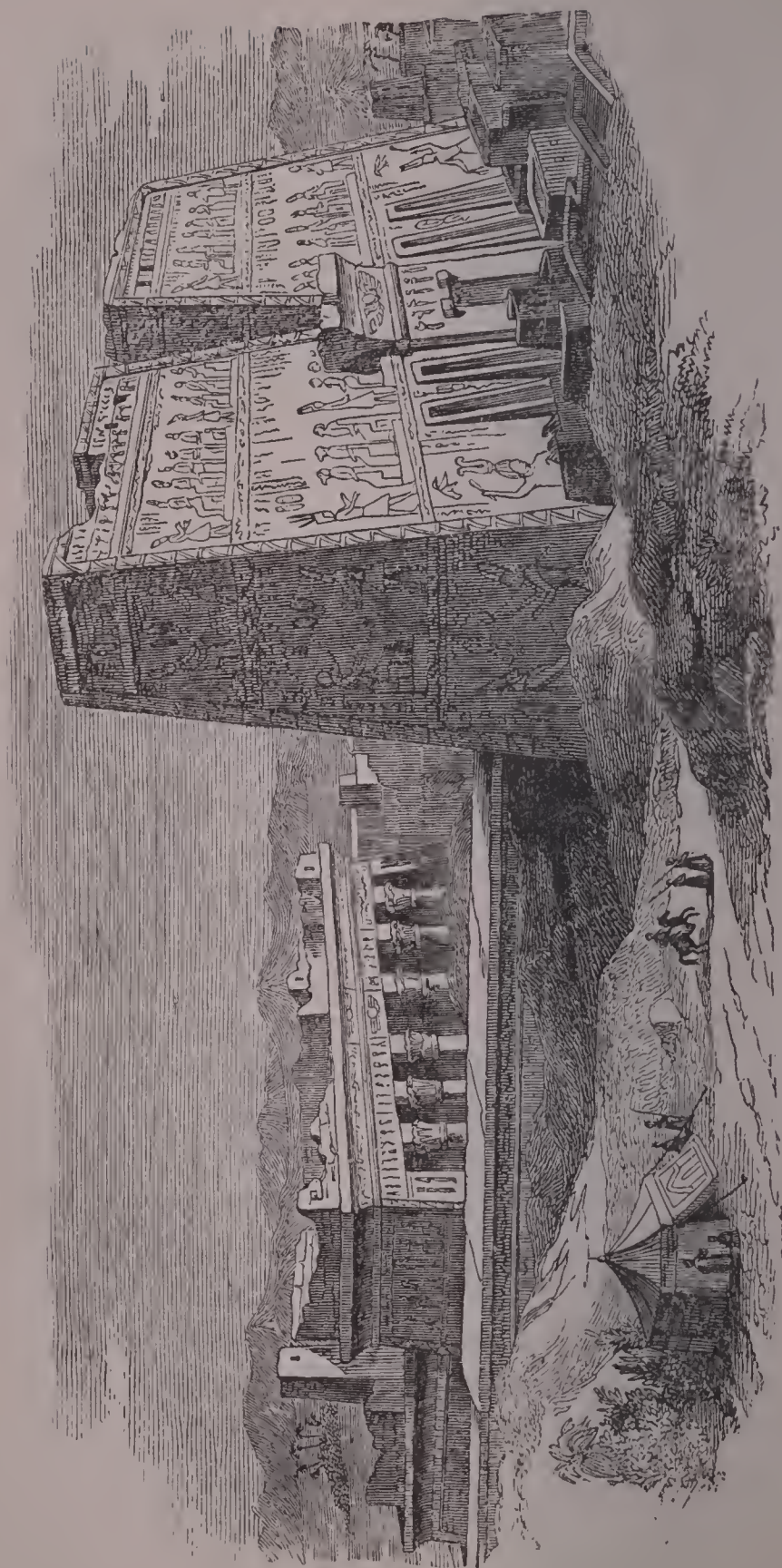
Above Thebes lie the ruins of the ancient Hermonthis; and further on, at Esneh, those of Latopolis, where the worship of Neith was combined with that of the fish Lato. The temple is of a comparatively late date, having been rebuilt in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. It contains a famous zodiac, like that of Denderah, to which French astronomers insisted on assigning an antiquity of at least 17000 years B.C. M. Champollion, however, read the name of the Emperor Antoninus upon it, and so proved it to have been erected about A.D. 140.

Thirty miles higher up stands the large and well-preserved ruin of the Temple of Edfou,<sup>1</sup> affording a good specimen of the general plan of the Egyptian sanctuaries. The last of the great edifices was at Apollinopolis, or the city of the Elder Horus; this temple was 500 feet long, and above 200 broad.

The banks of the Nile here begin to contract and overhang the water; the soil also is rocky and sterile. The grottos near Silsilis are adorned with paintings, and the sandstone quarries exhibit traces of the slabs cut out for the monuments. The ruins of two temples and the city of Ombos intervene before reaching Syene, and the temples of Elephantine and Philæ close the monumental series of Egypt. The latter is a specimen of the earliest style of architecture, consisting of a simple oblong building without pillars. It contains a chamber in which the birth of the child-god Horus is depicted; and among the sculptures is a bird surrounded by the petals of the lotus, by the side of which are two priests worshipping a serpent suspended on a *cross*, in a

<sup>1</sup> See engraving on next page.





TEMPLE OF EDFOU.



manner which recalls the common pictures of the brazen serpent.

Similar monuments occur in Ethiopia as far as Meroe, but they are not comprehended in the present enumeration. Neither shall we extend our survey to the *Oases* formerly connected with Egypt. It would be unpardonable, however, to omit one monument which, next to the Pyramids, seems to have exercised the ingenuity of observers and explorers of every age. This is the Labyrinth, situated on the celebrated lake Mœris, in the province of Faioom. Herodotus was told that this lake, then containing one hundred and fifty square miles, and navigated by vessels of the largest tonnage, was excavated by a Pharaoh Mœris; and in answer to his inquiry, what became of the earth, the priests gravely informed him it was carried away by the Nile to the sea!

The Labyrinth was situated on this great sheet of water near the city called Crocodilopolis. Diodorus attributes both to a king Mendes, who, being driven by his dogs into the lake, was saved by a crocodile bearing him to the other side on its back. In honour of this escape he founded the city with a special rite for his preserver, and built the Labyrinth for his own tomb.<sup>1</sup> This king is now identified with Ammenemha, the successor of the great Sesortasen, and, according to Bunsen, the Lamaris or Lachares of Manetho.

The Labyrinth is described by Herodotus from personal observation<sup>2</sup> as a "superhuman work" consisting of three thousand chambers, united by a maze of intricate passages, and adorned with countless pillars and porticoes. He esteemed it superior, as a work of art, not only to the temples of Ephesus and Samos, and

<sup>1</sup> Diod. i. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 148.

all the buildings of Greece, but to the Pyramids themselves. He adds, that the coffins of the kings who built it, and of their sacred crocodiles, were in the chambers under-ground; but he was not permitted to see them. Strabo says the enclosure contained as many palaces as there formerly were nomes (supposed to be twenty-seven<sup>1</sup>), and that the priests and priestesses of each department were accustomed to assemble there in solemn conclave to offer sacrifices, and resolve difficult questions of law.<sup>2</sup> The way to the courts within was through a series of small chambers having doors opening into each other, many of which were purposely contrived to baffle the stranger, and lead him back again to the outside. It contained shrines for all the gods of Egypt, columns of porphyry, idols, statues, and monsters without number.<sup>3</sup>

These buildings and their contents were doubtless the growth of a long series of years. A pyramid marked the tomb of the original founder; but both Herodotus and Diodorus assign the buildings to the age of Psamaticus and the twelve princes who succeeded the Theban Pharaohs. The pyramid has been examined by Perring and Lepsius. It is built of sun-burnt brick, mixed with much straw and laid in fine gravel, and was originally cased with stone. The discovery of the name of the founder, *Ra-n-Ma*, or, according to the usual custom of reading the deity last, *Ma-ra*, is thought important. It is considered to be the prenomen of Ammenemha, the last of the Twelfth Dynasty, and possibly one of the Pharaohs who showed kindness to the children of Israel.

1 Upper Egypt, 10; Lower Egypt, 10; Heptanomis 7=27; but perhaps only the original seven are intended. —

2 Bunsen, ii. 314.

3 Pliny ap Bunsen, *ibid*.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE HIEROGLYPHICS.

*Sculptures — Sepulchres — Portraits — Inscriptions — Hieroglyphics — Pictorial — Symbolical — Rosetta Stone — Bilingual Inscription — Contents — Dr. Young — Champollion — Phonetic Hieroglyphics — Examples — Syllabic value — Alphabet — Lepsius — Bunsen — Three Classes — Salvolini — Dispute — Homophones — Letter H — Conventional Rules — Determinatives — Language — Sir G. C. Lewis — Agreement with Bible — Specimens — Paris Obelisk — Rural Ditty — Epitaph of Queen Onknas — Vertical Columns — Horizontal — Varieties — Papyri — Hieratic Character — Enchorial — Manufacture — Illuminations — Book of the Dead — Sallier's Papyrus — Royal — No History.*

WITH the single exception of the Pyramids, the monuments described in the preceding chapters are embellished with paintings, intaglios, and reliefs, representing the public and private life of the ancient Egyptians. No nation ever took such pains to live in the knowledge of posterity. They resisted at every point the progress of time and decay. Instead of leaving their dead to return to the earth out of which they were taken, they embalmed their corpses with an art which, defying corruption, shows us in the present day not merely the shape and likeness, but the identical forms which lived and acted on the banks of the Nile upwards of 3000 years ago.

The receptacles in which the remains of the dead were stored up differ not less widely from the sepulchres of other nations. In place of the charnel-house, where the mouldering corpse is consigned to solitude and forgetfulness, the Egyptian mummy reposed in an apartment brilliantly painted with all the scenes of its past existence. The plough and the loom are seen in active operation on the walls. The fisherman, the potter, and the farmer pursue their daily toils. We read the

manners, laws, and religion of Ancient Egypt, not in history or in song, but in portraits taken from the life, and presenting its exact transcript in the grave.

These pictures are profusely illustrated by *inscriptions*, painted or carved in the solid stone, and often so numerous as to cover the entire monument, and even the whole interior of the temple. The characters in which they are written are termed *hieroglyphics*, and were clearly derived from the art of the painter. They represent men and animals, astronomical and geographical figures, plants, artificial instruments, and utensils of various descriptions. The objects are mostly real; a few only being imaginary forms, compounded of real elements, such as winged snakes and globes, griffins, phœnixes, sphinxes, with other fanciful combinations of human and animal organs.

The primary intention of the hieroglyphic was doubtless to express the object represented; in many instances it never acquired any other meaning, but was to all intents and purposes a *picture*. In other cases, however, it was used to denote not the actual object represented, but some other object, physical or ideal, conventionally connected with it. The character then changed from a picture to a *symbol*. Thus an eye was put for seeing, a throne for royalty, a sceptre for a king, a jackal for cunning, the lotus plant for Upper Egypt, the papyrus for Lower Egypt, an ibis, an ox, or a crocodile for the deities to which those animals were considered sacred. This symbolical use was extended not only to physical and mental acts, but to abstract ideas: a verb transitive was denoted by a pair of *legs walking*, the negative conjunction by two arms in an attitude of repulsion, and the human soul by head and face with wings. It is obvious that



symbols of this kind may be multiplied indefinitely, and must always be uncertain in their meaning till the conventional use has been ascertained by comparison or from extraneous sources. Many, therefore, are still wholly unknown, and of others the significations usually accepted are very precarious. To one or other of these two classes all hieroglyphics were till lately referred,<sup>1</sup> and from the uncertainty attending a numerous and obsolete assemblage of symbols, the inscriptions remained an impenetrable enigma.

It was only in August, 1799, that a key was at last supplied, by the discovery of the important monument known as the "Rosetta Stone," now in the British Museum. This is an oblong slab of black basalt, dug up by a French officer named Bouchart, and destined by him to augment the treasures of science in the Louvre. The victory of Lord Hutchinson and the consequent capitulation of Alexandria transferred it to the British, and it was landed at Portsmouth in February, 1802. "This seemingly insignificant stone shares, with the great and splendid work, 'La Description de l'Egypte,' the honour of being the only result of vital importance to universal history accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt."<sup>2</sup> The value of the stone is that it contains what had previously been sought for in vain—a hieroglyphic inscription accompanied by a version in Greek. It is engraved in three lines, the uppermost in hieroglyphics, the lowest in Greek, and between them another, then

<sup>1</sup> All ancient explanations, such as those of Chæremon, Horapollo, and Ammianus Marcellinus, confine the hieroglyphics to these two uses.—See *Sir G. C. Lewis*, pp. 380, 381.

<sup>2</sup> Bunsen, i. 310.

entirely unknown, which the Greek text describes as the *enchorial* or popular Egyptian. The Greek text, when restored and interpreted, was found to contain a decree by the high priests, prophets, and other sacred functionaries assembled at Memphis for the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 196.

A fac-simile of this inscription having been published, antiquarians applied themselves to decipher the hieroglyphics by means of the corresponding Greek words.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Young was the first to publish a "conjectural translation" in 1816, which he followed up by an article in the supplement of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" three years later. He was followed by the French author Champollion, who, repairing to Egypt under the orders of his government, translated many inscriptions, and finally prepared a grammar and dictionary, which, in consequence of his death in 1832, appeared under the editorship of his brother, M. Champollion Figeac, and laid the foundation of the system since pursued and improved upon by modern Egyptologists.

The peculiarity of this system is the discovery of a third class of hieroglyphics termed *phonetic*; designed, that is, to express, not the object itself, nor any idea of which it was the symbol, but the sound of its name in the Egyptian language. A duck, for example, being called *chin*, and the same word expressing a physician, the figure of this bird denoted a physician (possibly a *quack*); as if, in English, the figure of a *box* were put for a cuff on the ear, or a garden shrub.

The Egyptian, like other ancient languages, was mostly composed of monosyllables; hence such characters acquired a syllabic value, and could be put

<sup>1</sup> A full translation, made by the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania, will be found in our appendix.

together to denote longer words, as syllables are in English. Osiris, for example, was expressed by a throne (*os*), and an eye (*iri*). From syllables it was an easy transition to letters, by dropping the short vowel combined with the consonant, and leaving the sign to represent the latter alone. The result is that a considerable proportion of the hieroglyphics were discovered to be in effect *alphabetical characters*, combining, like modern letters, to form words. Thus an eagle being called *achem*, the figure of that bird stands for A, its initial sound; a water-jug, symbolical of water (*nem*), is put for N, and an owl (*mulag*) for M; these three signs grouped together spell *anem* (a pearl), the short vowels being supplied in pronunciation, as in most Eastern languages, and only the long ones expressed by a character.<sup>1</sup>

Champollion's system contained above 200 sounds, which, in 1834, were reduced by Richard Lepsius to fifteen, answering to our letters, *a, b, f, h, i, k, l, or r, m, n, p, s, t, u, ch, and sch*. The Egyptians are supposed to have expressed *d* by *t*, *g* by *ch, t, or k*, and *o* by *u*. The alphabet as thus settled is given with the latest improvements, accompanied by a grammar and vocabulary of the language in Baron Bunsen's work.

The result may be briefly stated as follows. The hieroglyphic signs are employed, not as before supposed in two, but in three, classes of signification:—

1. *Pictorially*, as denoting simply the object represented;

<sup>1</sup> The principle is precisely that of a child's alphabet: "A was an archer who shot a frog, B was a butcher who had a big dog; C was a captain all covered with lace." We have only to suppose the drawing of a captain, an archer, and a butcher to denote the word *cab*, and the resemblance is exact.

2. *Symbolically*, for some other object or idea, conventionally connected with the figure;

3. *Phonetically*, as the syllabic or initial sound of the name of the object represented; or of *that which it symbolizes*.

The extension of the phonetic principle implied in the last words has been questioned. It is distinctly asserted by Salvolini, the pupil of Champollion, who states that the vulture (*nurheu*) not only represents its own initial letter *n*, but also *m*, because a vulture is symbolical of maternity; whence the word for mother is *mu* or *muth*. This statement is disputed by Bunsen; yet in his "Complete List of Hieroglyphical Signs," the vulture actually stands for both those letters, besides three other meanings. It is given, 1, for the bird itself; 2, for the goddess *Muth*; 3, for the idea of mother; 4, for the letter *n*; and 5, for the letter *m*.

In like manner the vulpanser, or goose of the Nile, is read in no less than twelve meanings:—1, *pictorially*, to denote the bird itself; 2, *symbolically*, in eight ways, i. of the god *Seb* or Saturn, ii. of the relation of a son, iii., iv., v., vi., vii., and viii. as *determinative* of waterfowl, of birds generally, of flying animals, of a scarabæus, of the verbs to heal and to sleep; 3, *phonetically* for *a*, *s*, and (when flying) for *p*.

On the other hand, one and the same letter is represented by divers characters, called on that account *homophones*. In Bunsen's "Complete List," A is represented by an arm, an eagle, a reed, a pike (fish), a chisel, an altar, a spotted skin, a goose, a tree, a cross, an eye with the brow, a perch (fish), a pair of horns, a purse, a cow's ear, a penknife, an unknown object (possibly a centipede), an arm holding a club, an arm with a ball, the head of a sparrowhawk,



a flower, a water-plant, a bunch of flowers, a four-petaled (cross-shaped) flower, a feather, a man looking behind him, a basket, and a hook; all standing for words beginning with an *α*, and making twenty-eight different methods of expressing that one letter. Not one letter is expressed only by a single sign, and but three by so few as five. The H, so injuriously treated in modern European dialects, enjoys no less than *thirty* different signs appropriated to its expression by the ancient Egyptians. Three of them actually anticipate the letter itself, being composed of a man holding two palm branches perpendicularly at arm's length. To add to the difficulties of the interpreter, the hieroglyphical characters occur in all three uses in the same inscriptions, and even in the same words; the first syllable, perhaps, being expressed pictorially or symbolically, and the next by a combination of phonetic signs.



It is obvious that conventional rules must have been necessary to limit the confusion arising from this indiscriminate mixture, and some of these have been ascertained. While all the hieroglyphics may be used pictorially, and most of them symbolically, the phonetic use is limited to certain objects or postures. Some signs are never phonetic, and some only in particular shapes; thus an *open* hand (*tet*) may stand for *t*, but in any other posture the hand must be read as a picture or a symbol.

Another device was the employment of *determinative* signs. A group of phonetic characters constituting a word is followed by a picture of the object denoted; which is thus expressed twice over, first by the several letters which compose its name, and then by a

pictorial hieroglyphic of the whole.<sup>1</sup> A kind of symbolical determinative was also used to limit the meaning of the previous signs to particular *classes* of things. Thus an egg was adopted as a sign of the feminine gender, and when added to a name signified a goddess or a woman. A hatchet was determinative of the name of a god, because the same word *nter* expressed both ideas. A mason's mallet determines the actions of building, a boat those of sailing, and the like.

The discovery of the phonetic characters certainly opened a source of information more authentic than any before attained; yet it must be borne in mind that much uncertainty attends the employment of the several signs, while many remain altogether unknown. Hence no little difference still exists among the interpreters, and the results are often purely conjectural. It is even questioned into what language the hieroglyphics ought to be read. The existing Coptic, being considered to be the descendant and representative of the ancient Egyptian, is therefore made the basis of all the interpretations; but some critics are not satisfied of its identity with the ancient dialect, and it is certain that considerable diversities exist. The interpreter has not only to select his alphabet out of a score of contending homophones, to supply vowels at discretion, and to exercise his fancy upon the determinative, but to arrange and interpret the words so created, with no other grammar or lexicon than he can pick up by comparison with other inscriptions. "It is a misconception," says Mr. Birch, "to suppose that our Coptic lexica afford efficient assistance in difficulties, for it is generally necessary to determine the

1 As if the captain, the archer, and the butcher were followed by a modern "Hansom."

sense of the words, and then to seek the word in the Coptic or cognate language.<sup>1</sup>

















Sir G. C. Lewis, in his recent work on the Astronomy of the Ancients, stigmatizes the whole system as "flexible and arbitrary." He regards as suspicious Champollion's sudden facility in a science which could only be surely established by long and careful induction, and he more than doubts the language into which the hieroglyphics are read. The opinion that Coptic is the ancient Egyptian put into Greek characters he pronounces untenable, maintaining that the tradition of the ancient tongue is so hopelessly lost, like that of the Etruscan and Lycian, that if its words were accurately recovered they could only be explained by conjecture. Finally, this distinguished critic pronounces the notion that a system so intricate as the hieroglyphic could remain in use for twenty-two centuries without alteration to be "utterly incredible." These strictures strike at the root of the entire system, and would render valueless all the labours of its interpreters. Without adopting them in all their severity, we may safely conclude that the study is too precarious to be allowed to contradict any received authority.

Some errors have been exposed, and a few leading principles established. In particular, the dogmatic assertions of the scientific opponents of the Bible have been signally refuted. Champollion has proved to a demonstration that no existing monument comes within two or three centuries of the flood; and no theory, which calls in question the Bible history, can be reasonably listened to from the interpreters of hieroglyphics. Still, enough has been unveiled to afford some glimpses into the earliest state of society

<sup>1</sup> Transactions Royal Society of Literature, vol. iv., new series.

recorded anywhere out of the Bible, and the results are both curious and instructive.

The following specimens may serve to illustrate the nature of the hieroglyphics, and the character of the sentiments they express. The first is taken from the Luxor obelisk, which now stands in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. The inscription is addressed to Rameses the Great, and will be seen to bear a marked resemblance to the style of Hebrew poetry.

	A mouth ( <i>ro</i> ), phonetic of <i>r</i> }	<i>ren</i> , "name."	[ "name."
	Water ( <i>nem</i> ), , , <i>n</i> }		
	Cord or ring encircling the royal names, determinative of		
	Bowl with handle, phonetic of <i>k</i> , here stands for <i>ek</i> , affix of pronoun thee=of thee or "thy."		
	Embattled wall, phonetic of <i>m</i> }	<i>men</i> , "place."	
	Water (as before), , , <i>n</i> }		
	Lid of a box, determinative of placing.		
	Right hand sign, a weight ( <i>cha</i> ), symbolical of equality.		
	Left hand, pictorial of "heaven," surmounted by the article (a short stroke) and a hemisphere, determinative of the feminine gender.		
	Right hand, a reel (?), phonetic of <i>h</i> }	<i>ha</i> , "duration."	
	Left hand, an arm, , , <i>a</i> }		
	Below, the disk of the sun, symbolical of "day," preceded by the article (as before).		
	Bowl (as before) for <i>ek</i> , "thy."		
	Right hand, a reed, phonetic of <i>a</i> }		
	Left hand, hemisphere, , , <i>t</i> }	<i>aten</i> , the "sun's disk."	
	Below, water , , <i>n</i> }		
	Lastly, the sun's disk, determinative of the preceding.		

This inscription therefore reads, "Thy name (is) placed like the heaven, the duration of thy day (is as) the disk of the sun."

Our next example is a specimen of the rude ditties which cheered the labours of the threshing-floor. Mr. Osburn has paraphrased it in English as follows:—

Heigh, heigh, oxen, tread the corn faster,  
The straw for yourselves, the grain for your master.

It is written as on the following page:—





Right hand sign, a twisted cord, phonetic of *h* or *hu*, the sound uttered by the drover.

Left hand, a man with a stick, determinative of the imperative mood.



Beneath, an arm with a club, determinative of forcible action: the whole, "tread out."



Phonetic of *t* and *n* (as before) *ten*, "you;" three strokes, sign of the plural number.



*n*, sign of preposition "for."



*ten*, "you," or "yourselves," repeated.



Twice, *i. e.*, *da capo*, the sentence to be twice repeated.<sup>1</sup>



An ox, pictorial for the animal: three strokes, plural number = O! oxen.



(First group repeated), "tread out."



(Second ditto), "yourselves."



(Third ditto), "for yourselves."



(First group again), "tread out."



(Second and third again), "yourselves for yourselves"



Open hand, phonetic of *t* (*tha*, "straw").



Root of reeds or stubble, *determinative* of "straw."



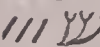
This group not explained (probably "masters").



Right hand a cross, phonetic of *a* } *am*, prep. in or  
Left hand an owl, ,, *m* } with, also "eat."



Man seated, with sign of plural number.



<sup>1</sup> So explained by Mr. Osburn.



A bushel of grain, pictorial and plural.

*enti*, "who" (are).

"Masters," (Osburn).

*ten* (as before), "you;" placed after the noun as the sign of the genitive case "of you" or "your."

The inscription therefore reads, "Tread out yourselves for yourselves (*da capo*); O oxen, tread out yourselves for yourselves; tread out yourselves for yourselves, the straw....for men the grain, who (are) your masters."

A third specimen will illustrate the form observed in the royal epitaphs. It is from the sarcophagus of Queen Onknas, sister of the Pharaoh Hophra mentioned in Jeremiah xlv. 30, which was found at Thebes, and is now in the British Museum



Col. 1. The Osirian (that is, the deceased) Queen (Onk-nas, sun with the good-heart), the truth-teller. The royal daughter of (Psametik) the truth-teller.

Col. 2. The Osirian (deceased) Queen (Onknas, sun with the good heart), the truth-teller: her mother was the divine Queen (Nitrocis), the truth-teller.

It will be observed that the two inscriptions differ only in the names of the parents of the deceased. Both begin with the eye, throne, and hatchet, emblems of Osiris, and denoting that the person has passed to his judgment in the other world. Then follow the basket, symbolical of lordship, with the hatchet prefixed, and the feminine affix equivalent to "queen." The royal name is enclosed in a ring like a seal; supposed to be copied from the flat underside of the *scarabeus*, or sacred beetle: this ring is the invariable distinction of regal persons, and is called their shield, scutcheon, or cartouche. The first sign (♀), called the *crux ansata*, and pronounced *anx*, has the meaning of *life*; the second is the undulating line, denoting water, or the letter *n*; and the third is a chair-back, phonetic of *s*, reading *Anknes*. Under the name, and within the ring, are the figures of the sun on the left, a lute in the middle, and a heart on the right. The lute is pronounced *nofre*; and this being also the word for good or beautiful, these signs read, "sun with a good heart"—a royal epithet, analogous, perhaps, to our phrase "illustrious and gracious." Below the shield is a broad line, the conventional contraction of *ma* (truth), followed by the hemisphere and a hand, phonetic of *tu* (speaking); this group reads, "truth-teller;" *i. e.*, one who is justified by the judge of the dead. The plant to the left of the next group is a sort of reed, which stands beside the wasp, or bee, over the royal scutcheons, in token of royalty; the reed representing the Upper, and the insect the Lower region.<sup>1</sup> The egg and hemisphere signify "daughter."

<sup>1</sup> These symbols are perhaps referred to in 2 Kings xviii. 21; Ezek. xxix. 6; and Isa. vii. 18: the reed and the fly may have become proverbial expressions in Palestine, denoting the distrust and fear of Egypt.

The bowl with two lines is read *neb ta*, "great lord," and is often found over a royal scutcheon in the later dynasties. The shield below it contains the phonetic signs of *p* (a square), *s* (chair-back), *m* (owl), *t* (cord with a loop at each end), and *k* (the bowl with a handle), reading *Psmetik*, or *Psamaticus*. Below are the same characters as before for "justified."

In the second column the upper half is the same as in the first. The signs denoting "royal daughter" are then replaced by the vulture, the symbol of maternity, with the feminine affix, reading "mother." Next follow the hatchet and basket, denoting "divine queen," and then a shield, containing her name in phonetic signs, *n*, *t*, *k*, *o*, *r*; with the egg and hemisphere, both significations of the feminine gender. The scutcheon is followed by the usual *ma-tu*, "justified."

It will be observed from these examples that the hieroglyphics are usually placed in vertical columns, reading from the top downward;—an arrangement very suitable to the Egyptian obelisk. On tablets they are found in horizontal lines, which are read both from right to left, as in Hebrew and other Asiatic languages, and from left to right, as among ourselves: sometimes the line divides in the middle, and is read from the centre to the flanks, or *vice versâ*, from the flanks to the centre, according to the whim of the artist.<sup>1</sup> Further varieties arise from the license assumed by the sculptor of arranging the characters in the most compact and symmetrical forms; and all these add greatly to the difficulties of the decipherer.

<sup>1</sup> The rule is to read in the direction to which the figures face; but an object is sometimes reversed, as a ship with its prow to the opposite side, to signify a sailing *away*.



In addition to the Monuments the ancient Egyptians have left behind them a considerable number of *Papyri*, written in the hieroglyphic character. The larger proportion of these sacred MSS., however, are in a later abbreviated character termed *hieratic*, a sort of running hand derived from the hieroglyphics for the convenience of the pen. Writing, though not so ancient as carving on stone, was very early practised in Egypt. One of the deities is depicted with a style and roll of paper, as secretary to the gods. Scribes are represented, also, on many of the monuments; though they were probably a limited and professional order, since "no books ever appear among the furniture of a house, no one is ever represented reading, except in some sacred function, and no female is ever seen reading or writing."<sup>1</sup> The hieratic letters were written in a horizontal line from left to right, in the modern European way; and on the Rosetta Stone both the hieroglyphics and the enchorial inscriptions take the same direction.

The *enchorial* was another running hand, derived from the hieroglyphic, but by a later deterioration: it was used in epistles and ordinary compositions, and probably expresses the popular, not the sacred language. It is called the "writing of the multitude" on the Rosetta Stone, exactly answering to the *demotic* of Herodotus.

The papyri found in the tombs are ancient and numerous; they are to be met with in all the museums of Europe, but few have been deciphered, and only two or three fragments are as yet published. They are written with ink on long rolls made from the pith of the *papyrus*. The layers were pressed into flat slips, and

<sup>1</sup> Kenrick, i. 234.

glued together to the desired breadth; a similar breadth was then joined to the first at right angles, and so on to any length that might be needed.<sup>1</sup> The papyrus was a more convenient material than the palm leaves and bark resorted to by other ancient nations, and far cheaper than parchment.

Some of the ancient papyri are brilliantly illuminated. The oldest is probably in the Museum at Turin, parts of which have been published by Lepsius under the title of the "Book of the Dead." It is written in the hieroglyphic character, and ornamented with pictures illustrative of the ancient belief in a future life. Portions of this work are often found interred with the mummies; Bunsen is sanguine enough to pronounce it one of the "sacred books" attributed to Thoth.

Of the so-called historical papyri the most celebrated is that of Sallier, now in the British Museum, written in the *hieratic* character, and supposed to be a collection of songs in praise of the kings. The Turin Museum contains another ancient papyrus of great value, termed *Royal*, from its containing a long list of Egyptian monarchs. The enumeration is supposed to have originally comprehended at least two hundred and fifty names, divided into dynasties; but the relic is so excessively mutilated, that the pains bestowed by Lepsius on its reconstruction have succeeded in rendering only a few names legible, and nothing is found to determine their chronology.

These papyri, with the tablets of Abydos, Karnak, and some shorter successions occasionally recorded in the tombs, are the materials now relied on for disen-

<sup>1</sup> The layers were joined on at right angles, *i.e.*, the layers running the contrary way to the preceding piece, in order to give strength.

tangling the Egyptian annals from the confusion in which the historians have left them. In point of fact, however, not a single fragment really historical has as yet been produced. If any native author employed his pen in recording the deeds of his countrymen, his labours remain undeciphered; all that we possess are barren catalogues of names, supported by no authorities, connected with no facts, and often discordant from other similar lists.

Some Egyptologists seem to forget that successions, extending to scores and even hundreds of sovereigns, must have been compiled long after their reigns, and owe all their value to the accuracy of the traditions which they follow. Legends carved upon stone, or written upon papyrus, are only legends still. Fiction is not turned into fact by the art of the stonemason, nor is tradition more credible when repeated from one Egyptian to another, than when palmed off upon the wondering Greeks. Whatever value may attach to the monuments and papyri, as illustrating the condition of Ancient Egypt, it has yet to be shown that their authors possessed the materials for writing its history with accuracy, even supposing that we rightly understand what they have written.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE HISTORIANS.

*The Pentateuch—Moses the First Egyptian Authority—Inspiration—Objected to by the Unregenerated—Adds a new Sanction to Reason—Herodotus—Dates and Authority—Manetho—His Authorities fictitious—Menes—Dynasties and Reigns—No Registers—Eratosthenes—Different List—Both Works Lost—Josephus—Christian Chronologies—Julius Africanus—Eusebius of Cæsarea—George Syncellus—Old Chronicon—Sir John Marsham—Monumental Corrections—Discrepancies—Various Schemes of Reconciliation—Baron von Bunsen—A German Manetho—Inconsistencies—Diodorus—Strabo—Nothing Authentic.*

THE oldest and, beyond comparison, the most authentic notices of Ancient Egypt, are to be found in the book of Genesis. Apart from the sanctions of inspiration, the Bible surpasses every other book in the purity and genuineness of its text, in the probity of its writers, and the credibility of its contents. The Pentateuch exists at this day as it came from the hand of Moses; its various readings (if we except the numbers which compose its chronology) are insignificant, and its general authenticity is guaranteed by a religious veneration, never intermitted for a moment. No inscription or papyrus in Egypt can pretend to be older than the book of Genesis; while none has undergone a tenth part of the investigation incessantly applied to the writings of Moses.

By one class of objectors the authority of Moses is depreciated, as being only the *Jewish* version of the events he has recorded; it is insinuated that a different account might be given by the Egyptians. Setting apart, however, for a moment the claims of inspiration, it must be remembered that Moses, though a Hebrew by descent, and choosing his part with the race to which he



belonged, was by birth and education an Egyptian. He was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." His very name was, perhaps, drawn from their language.<sup>1</sup> From his Jewish contemporaries he could derive little beyond the family pedigrees, with a few of the incidents which we find in his writings. He was himself the first historian and lawgiver of the Jews; while the whole range of Egyptian antiquity and theology lay open to his selection. On all ordinary grounds, then, Moses should be held, by those who deny his inspiration, an Egyptian, much more than a Jewish, authority.

In fact, the Egyptians themselves pretended that he was an apostate priest from their own persuasion, and that he copied his institutions from the temples which he deserted. This objection is, of course, wholly inconsistent with the other; yet modern infidelity would avail itself of both, without heeding the contradiction. What it really rebels against is the claim to speak from God; but for this, the antiquity and personal knowledge of Moses would be allowed to correct every other historian. From an unprejudiced reasoner, his books would command a deference, on their own account, only second to the claim which we assert for them in the name of religion; but neither the intellect nor the heart of the unregenerate can tolerate a Divine revelation. To modern rationalism, idolatry itself seems a safer guide than the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The wild legends of a heathen priest are preferred to the sober narrative of Moses; not because the latter was less informed, or less trustworthy, but because he professed to have seen God, and to have received a law at his mouth.

To the believer Inspiration adds a new and higher

<sup>1</sup> Mou-si, "son of the water."

sanction to an author who already surpasses every other. Moses is for us the one historian of primitive antiquity. His narrative, internally so superior to the monstrous fables of heathen antiquity, commends itself to the reason no less than the conscience: the internal evidence is in accordance with the external: we thankfully accept the inspired history as the single fountain of truth, among the many polluted cisterns of legend and fable.

Next, but fully a thousand years later, and every way inferior in critical value, is Herodotus, the father of secular history. He was born about fifty years after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, when the inspiration and prophecy of the elder covenant were uttering its last words. Esther was counterplotting Haman in the court of Persia, and Cincinnatus was going back to his plough from the dictatorship of Rome, while Herodotus was writing his history. He read it in the ears of assembled Greece in the same year (B. C. 445) that Ezra arranged the canon of the Old Testament.

At that time Egypt being revered as the source of Greek letters and religion, Herodotus went to pursue his inquiries at the fountain head. The long line of Pharaohs had only just sunk under the Persian conquest. The temples were still standing in all their splendour, the monuments intact, and the hieroglyphics, though a hidden lore to foreigners, familiar as household words to the priests. Herodotus visited Memphis and Heliopolis, where Moses studied ten or twelve centuries earlier, and Joseph, perhaps, erected the obelisk which is now its sole remaining monument. Thales, and Pythagoras, and, as many think, Plato had been there before him, bringing away secrets which

kindled the historian's most ardent curiosity. He interrogated the priests of Vulcan, whose stately temple adorned the ancient capital, and carefully examined into the royal successions registered at Thebes. The priests conducted him into their sanctuaries, unrolled their papyri, then whole and unmutilated, and showed him the statues of their predecessors. He conversed with them on the origin of Egyptian civilization, and collected the traditions of the people with a fidelity which betrayed him into many improbable, and evidently fabulous, relations. Yet Herodotus was not without much critical acumen, and his remarks evince great shrewdness and common sense. Like Moses, he has been subjected to the sneers of less informed critics, but his works supplied the first landmarks of classical history; and the latest Egyptian researches go to show that little has really been added to the stores of his information.

Two centuries after Herodotus, when intercourse with the Greeks was full and frequent, Manetho, a native of Sebennytus, and high priest of Heliopolis, undertook to correct the mistakes of Herodotus, by a native history compiled under the patronage of the early Ptolemies. His work was written in the Greek language, but pretended to be derived from certain pillars in the Siriadic land which had been inscribed in the sacred dialect of Thoth *before the flood* (!). Their contents, translated into Greek, were said to have been laid up in the Egyptian temples by the second Thoth. The pillars were of course fictitious;<sup>1</sup> and the Greek language was unknown in Egypt at the time

<sup>1</sup> Josephus refers to two such pillars, *engraved by the children of Seth*, as standing in his own day. He probably confounded Seth with Setei the father of Rameses the Great (*Jud. Ant.* i. 2).

referred to. No classical historian condescended to notice this book; the Christian author to whom we are indebted for the little that remains of it, introduces its author as "Manetho the Sebennyte, high priest of the detestable Egyptian mysteries, who according to Berossus lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, *as great a liar as Berossus himself*."

Manetho obviously wrote with a view of astonishing the Greeks by a mythological antiquity exceeding their own, and of which Herodotus heard nothing from the earlier priests. His authorities were doubtless the monuments which the Greek world was then flocking to inspect, and for these he provided a history much after the manner of our own popular guide books. His annals opened with a succession of gods, heroes, and *manes* (ghosts!), who reigned over Egypt for 24,925 years before Menes, the first human king. Menes himself was placed 5702 years before the Christian era; he stood at the head of ninety dynasties, comprehending 495 sovereigns, the last of whom was Pharaoh Nectanebus, who succumbed to the Persian arms in the time of Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> Of these 495 kings only 149 were known to the historian even by name. No authorities are quoted for his statements; and it is obvious that Manetho could have had

<sup>1</sup> The totals, as summed up at the end of the dynasties and volumes, constantly differ from the actual total of the years specified for each reign. Eusebius also differs widely from Africanus both in the number and duration of the reigns. The first book of Manetho, containing the eleven earlier dynasties, is said in Africanus's text to contain 192 kings, but the actual sum is 200. In the second book (Dyn. xii.—xix.) the sum stated is 96; but the rulers enumerated, named and unnamed, amount to 234. Comparing these numbers with those of the third book (Dyn. xx.—xxx.), of which the total is only 61, we see at once that the earlier books must contain many *contemporaneous* reigns, though their durations are added together as if they were successive.



access to none, that were not equally or better known to the priests who conversed with Herodotus, and still more to Moses. If the reigns of the kings were really recorded in the temple registers by contemporaneous scribes, they would have told the same story to all who consulted them. The irreconcilable differences between Manetho and the Greek writers, and between one Greek and another, demonstrate that no such registers ever existed, but that each has recorded a tradition which was neither uniform nor authentic. Manetho was clearly not recognised as an authority in his own day, since neither Diodorus nor Strabo, who wrote after him, either mention his work or accept its statements.

Manetho was followed in the next century by Eratosthenes, the keeper of the celebrated library at Alexandria, an author eminent in grammar, philosophy, poetry, and mathematics, but who starved himself to death at the age of 82 (B.C. 194), in resentment at being disabled, by loss of sight, from prosecuting his studies. He was the author of a Greek chronology which is now universally rejected. He collected also the annals of the Egyptian kings by order of another Ptolemy, who was apparently not satisfied with the performance of Manetho. These were arranged, not in dynasties, but in one consecutive list, commencing, like his predecessor's, with Menes, but exhibiting little further resemblance. It professed to be taken from the registers of Thebes, and placed Menes about the year B.C. 2600.

The works of both these historians are now lost, only a few fragments having been preserved in later writers. Josephus copied some passages from Manetho, interspersed with adaptations of his own to suit them

to his views of Jewish chronology ; and this is all that remains of the history itself. The Christian chronologers of a later era preserved the names of the kings, with a memoranda of a few principal events, in "lists," which may, or may not, have been annexed by Manetho to the original work, but which have certainly been *doctored* to meet the theories of the commentators.

The first of these was Julius Africanus, a learned pagan who embraced Christianity at Alexandria, and after being admitted to holy orders died at an advanced age in the third century. He was the author of a chronology commencing with the Creation (which, according to his view of Scripture chronology, is to be dated at 5499 B.C.), and continued down to the year of our Lord 221. Africanus, who was well versed in Egyptian literature, had the work of Manetho before him, and states that he was himself possessed of one of the "sacred books" referred to in its pages. He exhibited the dynasties *in two versions*, differing in some important particulars from each other and from Josephus. The commentator, however, shared the fate of his author ; and the labours of Africanus survived only in the later chronology of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century.

Having taken refuge in Egypt during the Diocletian persecution, Eusebius was there seized and cast into prison, but escaped after witnessing the martyrdom of his friends, not without suspicion of purchasing his immunity by offering sacrifice to the idols. Eusebius, having adopted and enlarged the labours of Africanus, published a chronicon, exhibiting the royal successions in all the countries of the known world. This great work exists only in an Armenian translation discovered in the year 1820, and rendered into

Latin by Cardinal Mai; the translation is printed in the Vatican collection.

Till the publication of this version the single authority both for Africanus and Eusebius was a Byzantine monk (A.D. 792) named George the *Syncellus*, or coadjutor, of the Patriarch of Constantinople. His chronography preserves the lists of Manetho as given by his two more eminent predecessors, and his accuracy is generally confirmed by the Armenian translation of Eusebius.

Of Eratosthenes the remains are still fewer and not more trustworthy than those of Manetho. A part only of his list was preserved by Apollodorus of Athens, a writer who flourished about 146 B. C., and wrote a chronicle in Iambic verse, long since lost. Syncellus has transcribed from him the names of thirty-eight "Theban kings," commencing with Menes, and extending over 1076 years. There were three and fifty more, which the monk thought it superfluous to copy, as being of no kind of use, "nor indeed (he frankly adds) can much more be said of those which precede them."

In point of fact, then, all that passes under the names of Manetho and Eratosthenes, instead of being native authorities of the third or fourth century, is the compilation of Jewish and Christian writers, passing from hand to hand, and reduced to its present form by a Greek monk, more than a thousand years after the historians were dead. The originals were deformed by heathen fables, and the copies were avowedly manipulated to suit the views of the successive commentators.

Syncellus has preserved another work attributed to Manetho, called the *Old Chronicon*; but this is now

agreed to be a compilation of the fourth or fifth century after Christ.

From the materials now enumerated Sir John Marsham constructed a chronological *canon*, which obtained a considerable degree of acceptance in the last century; but since the discovery of the key to the hieroglyphic characters his arrangement has been found inconsistent with the monuments, and recourse has been again had, by the light of their information, to the lists preserved in Syncellus.

As those lists were originally compiled in presence of the existing monuments, and with a full knowledge of their inscriptions, it is to be expected that modern decipherments, so far as they are correct, will agree with their testimony. Such agreement adds nothing to the credibility of the historian. The monuments furnished the *notes* from which the Egyptian authors wrote. When they agree with Herodotus, who was unacquainted with hieroglyphics, they supply some evidence of an independent character; but in agreeing with Manetho and Eratosthenes, they only repeat themselves, adding nothing to the authenticity of the information, or the value of the explanation. To jump at the conclusion that their statements are corroborated by the monuments, because of some patent facts found in both, is to reason like Smith the weaver, who thought it proved that Cade, the bricklayer's son, was heir to the crown of England, because his father made a chimney in his father's house, "and the bricks are alive at this day to witness if I lie!"

On the other hand, every *discrepancy* between the monuments and the Egyptian historians raises a grave suspicion against both. It is the disagreement of confederate witnesses on separate examination. Either



the historian wilfully falsified an authentic record which stared him in the face, or he had reasons of which we are ignorant for distrusting the monumental inscription.

In point of fact, the Monuments (as hitherto interpreted) agree with the Lists so far as to show that the latter are not absolutely fictitious; they differ so far as to prove that other and conflicting sources of information were consulted, of which we know nothing. Whether these were found in temple registers, or were collected from tradition, or supplied by the imagination of the writer, we can never know. But that the prospect of any genuine reconciliation is now desperate, is proved by the conflicting schemes adopted by Champollion, Rosellini, Wilkinson, and other acknowledged authorities, before the appearance of the Prussian School.

The latest and most pretentious arrangement is that of Bunsen, who has undertaken to reduce Manetho and Eratosthenes to agreement with each other and the monuments, on the assumption that the thirty-eight Theban kings exhibit the true chronological succession of the ancient monarchy. He is far, however, from accepting either historian as he stands. His process is first to assign so much of the text in Syncellus to the historian, and so much to the editor, as seems most convenient, and then to subject the remainder to a liberal application of hypothesis and conjecture. Neither Manetho nor Eratosthenes is trusted for half a dozen steps by himself. They undergo correction in the names of the kings, the length of their reigns, the nature and date of the events, and in the meaning of all they record. Reigns and dynasties are made successive or contemporaneous

on no internal or external evidence; kings are transplanted from one dynasty to another; and the result is an arrangement which not only was certainly never registered in any Egyptian temple, but in all probability never entered the thoughts of any Egyptian writer;—a “German Manetho,” in short, with whom, it has been justly remarked, that “names go for little, and numbers for nothing.” The author talks largely of recent discoveries; but, in point of fact, nothing has been brought to light which was not much better known to the authorities whom he undertakes to correct. Manetho and Eratosthenes ministered in the temples when entire, and read the papyri before they were reduced to tatters. Africanus visited Egypt before the key to the hieroglyphics was lost. He read and digested the entire works from which only these barren catalogues of names have come down to us. He was possessed of some of the sacred books themselves; in short, his information, historical, critical, and monumental, was in every respect superior to that on which he is now subjected to emendation.

The truth appears to be, that there did not exist, either in his time or Manetho’s, much less in our own, the materials for a genuine Egyptian history. The native writers followed the tradition of their own temples or schools, and these were really discordant. Even in the time of Herodotus the priests were unable to supply an authentic history; and this was not a deficiency to be repaired in later ages. After the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Greeks flocked in great numbers to explore antiquities which excited as lively a curiosity then as now. The temples were standing, and every authority was available which

could possibly have been in the hands of Manetho or Eratosthenes. The inconsistencies and contradictions found in the Greek writings can only be attributed to the prevalence of various traditions, none of which supplied the materials of a genuine history.

Of the later Greek authorities the principal were Diodorus the Sicilian, who visited Egypt about sixty years before the birth of Christ, and Strabo, the geographer, who followed a little after the Christian era. Both were men of observation and research. In recapitulating the labours of their predecessors, they add their own testimony with accuracy and fidelity. The complaints sometimes made of their carelessness are perhaps mainly due to want of knowledge or veracity in the priests, on whom they were dependent for information.

Diodorus, beginning like others with Menes as the first mortal king, places him about 5000 years B.C., but both his history and chronology are utterly different from his predecessors. In fact, the four historians, two Greek and two Egyptian, all deriving their information from the priests, are found to differ so irreconcilably as to demonstrate that no authentic registers could have existed. The Greek writers were imposed on by the priests who acted as their guides. From the Egyptians it is impossible to remove the charge that, like other heathen fabulists, they palmed off as authentic what they knew to be legendary, and helped out their deficiencies by drawing on their imagination. In short, any theory which implies the historical truth of the Manethonian dynasties rests on a foundation of sand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. C. Lewis on the Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 393.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

*Incredible Antiquity assigned to Idolatry—Extravagancies of Bunsen—Heathen Fictions—Book of Genesis—Idolatry in Chaldea—Not in Canaan—Nor in Egypt at Abraham's Visit—Possible Revelation to Sons of Ham—Biblical Notes—Egyptian Philosophy—Rise of Idolatry—Pyramids Monotheistic—Legends of their Founders—Religious Revolution—Chufu or Suphis—Original Faith—Contrast of Mosaic with Egyptian Rites—Necessity of Revelation—Progress of Idolatry—Soul of the Universe—Pantheism—Worship of Nature and the Sun—Book of Wisdom—Idols—Man-worship—Want of System—The True Light.*

AMONG the misconceptions which have contributed to attach an extravagant antiquity to Egyptian chronology, is the assumption that the idolatry portrayed on the later monuments existed from the infancy of the nation and the origin of its language. "Religion and language, (we are told) mythology and writing, appear in the dynasty of Menes, its names and monuments, as the native element, the indigenous groundwork of the development of the empire. The city of Amun implies the worship of Amun; Abydos (the city of Osiris) that of Osiris; the name of Athothis the worship of Thoth. There is a scutcheon containing the name of Menes in the royal palace of the Great Rameses, on which the well-known hieroglyphics are engraved throughout. This establishes the union of the phonetic and symbolic systems which marks the position of Egypt in the development of writing."<sup>1</sup> The incredibility of such a theory has been well pointed

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen, ii. 53.



out by Sir G. C. Lewis.<sup>1</sup> It was natural enough in the mouths of the heathen priests, from whom the Egyptologists have accepted it; but if true, it must follow either that no primitive and true faith was revealed to mankind, or that time enough had elapsed, before the settlement of Egypt, to supplant it by an intricate and elaborate system of idolatry. Both alternatives are contrary at once to Scripture and to historical probability. If Menes were Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, he must have inherited the religion of that second father of mankind. If the name designates some later founder of Memphis, there is no pretence for connecting it with the infancy of the language or the nation.

The passage just quoted from Bunsen is a singular proof of how easily a prejudice in favour of prodigious antiquity can misstate the evidence pretended to be adduced. Almost every word is open to contradiction. Of the "dynasty of Menes" nothing at all "appears," save in the catalogue of Manetho, where it stands in immediate succession to the gods and the *manes*. Monuments it has none; and its names are "found" only in the traditions of later days. The "scutcheon containing the name of Menes" was the production, not of his age, but of that of Rameses. The founder of Memphis was then called Menes, as the founder of Rome was called by the Cæsars Romulus, and as Ebraucus, in British tradition, was the founder of York. To suppose that those two syllables actually constituted his proper name, or were expressed by himself in the hieroglyphic characters found on the tablet of Abydos, is an absurdity of which none but an enthusiastic Egyptologist could be guilty.

<sup>1</sup> Astronomy of the Ancients.

Again, there is not a shadow of evidence for the existence of the "cities of Amun and Osiris" in the time of Menes. Abydos is just named in the incoherent legends of Manetho; if Osiris be, as is probable, only another name for Menes, it may have been his city and his burying-place, without in the least implying his worship. As for Thebes, it is never mentioned till the Ninth Dynasty, and was probably not founded till some centuries after Menes. Lastly, the name of Athothis is so far from "implying the worship of Thoth," that it exhibits the person so worshipped in his historical character of an ancient monarch.

It may be granted that a natural connexion subsisted between the forms of Egyptian speech, and the characters chosen to express them, without stigmatizing the phonetic or symbolic signs as originally and essentially idolatrous. The Hebrew letters are thought to have been originally pictorial;<sup>1</sup> yet so far from being necessarily idolatrous, they were selected to record and perpetuate the revelation of the true God.

In point of fact, the alleged antiquity of Egyptian idolatry is simply the fiction of its own priests. They told Herodotus that Menes built the temple of Vulcan; but they knew little about the Pyramids, though belonging to a much later period. Manetho, in like manner, pretends to name the king of This, who established (in the "dynasty" next after that of Menes) the worship of the bull and the goat in the temples of Lower Egypt. But these Thinite kings are *myths*, of whom Eratosthenes and the earlier priests were ignorant; certainly, Lower Egypt was never under their dominion. Bunsen would help out the

<sup>1</sup> Osburn, p. 169.

fiction, by suggesting that the Thinite Pharaohs *may have been* the elder branch, and so invested with an *ecclesiastical supremacy* throughout Egypt. The hint would doubtless have been gladly accepted by the heathen fabulist, had any one been then so ingenious as to suggest it.

Turning from these idle legends to the book of Genesis, we find no reason to suppose that the faith held by Noah had been corrupted by idolatry at the early period when Egypt was first colonized. The earliest mention of such corruptions in religion occurs at the time of Abram's departure from Chaldea. That idolatry then existed in that country, and that the family of the patriarch himself "served other gods,"<sup>1</sup> is expressly stated. It was, doubtless, to separate him from this sin that the father of the faithful received the command so painful to natural affections:—"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land which I will show thee."<sup>2</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the land so selected was as yet free from the pollutions of that which he quitted. In point of fact, Abram experienced no molestation in Canaan, though in each place of his sojourn "he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord."<sup>3</sup> The punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah indicates a wide-spread corruption of *morals*, but no allusion is made to *idolatry*, the sin which in after times was so conspicuously offensive. The kings with whom Abram allied himself met the patriarch at the sanctuary of Melchisedek, who "was the priest of the most high God."<sup>4</sup> It is probable, therefore, that they were still

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xxiv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xiv. 17, 18.

followers of the religion of Noah. The special privilege vouchsafed to Abraham lay in the revelation of God's holy name, **JEHOVAH**; known indeed to Adam and to Noah, but gradually lost after the confusion of tongues at Babel.<sup>1</sup> Hence the form of Melchisedek's benediction was, "Blessed be Abram of the Most High God, possessor (or Creator) of heaven and earth;" while the patriarch himself supplied the holy name, saying, "I have lift up mine hand unto **JEHOVAH**, the Most High God, the Creator of heaven and earth."<sup>2</sup>

That the name of God comprehended his essential perfections, and was used in Holy Scripture as a kind of summary of revelation, may be seen from the frequency with which his commands are enforced by the solemn formula, "**I THE LORD.**"<sup>3</sup> The loss of God's holy name, by weakening the recognition of his *personal* existence, would, no doubt, facilitate the growth of idolatry; but their intercourse with Abraham seems inconsistent with any such apostasy already existing on the part of the primitive Canaanites.

Now, the Egyptians were a branch of the same race,

1 See Gen. xi. 8, 9. The true pronounciation of the four letters which form this holy name is unknown; but it was almost certainly *not* as pronounced by ourselves. The Jews, deeming it too sacred to be uttered, were accustomed in reading the Scripture to substitute another word, commonly *Adonai* (Lord), and the vowel points placed in the text were those of the substitute, not of the original name. The Septuagint inserted the substitute in the text itself, and have been followed by our translators, who write **LORD** (in capital letters) where **Jehovah** occurs in the Hebrew. In this way the true sound of the name has been lost. Its meaning appears to be given in Exod. iii. 14. In God's mouth it is **I AM**, in that of his servants, **HE IS**.

2 Gen. xiv. 19, 22. Exod. vi. 3 should probably have been rendered as a question, "Was I not known to them?" etc. The name was lost in the bondage of Egypt, and again restored as the foundation of a true knowledge of God.

3 Lev. xviii. 2, 4—6, 21, 30.



and settled in Egypt about the same period. They would probably partake of the same moral and religious habits. All heathen authorities agree that originally the Egyptians worshipped but one God; even in the time of Herodotus, he was spoken of as self-existent and eternal. Plutarch informs us that some of the Thebans refused to pay the idolatrous imposts, on the ground that they worshipped only Kneph, the Spirit without beginning or end.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Kneph or Num appears on the monuments as the name of the ram-headed idol of Upper Egypt and Nubia; but these expressions prove that it was known as an appellation of the Creator, and doubtless worshipped in spirit and in truth, before it came to be figured under that mystic, and to us unintelligible, symbol. It seems certain, then, that the earliest religion in Egypt was monotheistic, and its idolatries were corruptions of later growth.

There are even passages in the inspired volume which seem to hint at a special revelation to the sons of Ham, anterior to the call of Abraham. Horeb would appear to have been known as the "mountain of God," before it was made the scene of a Divine manifestation to Moses,<sup>2</sup> and it seems to be referred to by that name in Ezekiel xxviii. 14. The lamentation there pronounced upon "the king of Tyrus" has been thought to indicate that the Tyrian nation at some earlier and purer stage of their history had been *favoured with a peculiar presence of God*, expressed by the "anointed and covering cherub."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Iside et Osiride, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. iii. 1 (Joseph. Antiq. ii. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Instead of "Thou art the anointed cherub," the Septuagint reads, "Thou art with the anointed covering cherub."

The cherubim were the well-known attendants on the Divine Presence upon the ark, "covering the mercy-seat with their wings;"<sup>1</sup> like it, they were probably anointed with "the holy anointing oil."<sup>2</sup> The mention also of jewels in the thirteenth verse, which are nearly the same with those enumerated in the breastplate of the high priest,<sup>3</sup> where they represented the twelve tribes of the covenanted people, may seem to indicate the existence of some authorized means of communion with God. Now the Tyrians, being Cushites, were nearly allied to the children of Mizraim; and it is remarkable that the ark and cherub with outstretched wings are found depicted among the early religious symbols of Egypt. The families of Cush and Mizraim—Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia (i. e., *Arabia*)—might keep their religious festivals at Horeb, as the children of Israel afterward went up to appear before the Lord in Jerusalem. The "mount of God" would thus be the centre of worship to a band of kindred nations scattered between Libya and the Persian Gulf, till a gradual apostasy vitiated their covenant, and another law, another priesthood, and another people were chosen out of the families of Shem.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever weight may be attached to these speculations, it would certainly appear that the nations they refer to are spoken of as having been *rejected* by God when the descendants of Abraham were chosen for his people. Tyrus, as profane, is cast out of the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxx. 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. xxxix. 10—13. In the Septuagint version the stones are *identical*.

<sup>4</sup> The theory here stated is supported in a paper in the "Journal of Sacred Literature" (April, 1860), entitled *Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor*; reviewed in the *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1860.

mountain of God, and the covering cherub destroys him from the midst of the stones of fire.<sup>1</sup> To Israel it is said, "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee."<sup>2</sup> The gates of Zion are preferred to "Rahab (Egypt) and Babylon, Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia;" of Zion only shall it be said that "He was born there."<sup>3</sup> Among the kings that are to do homage at Jerusalem, it is said the "princes shall come out of Egypt: Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."<sup>4</sup> Finally, there is the magnificent promise of a day when there shall be again "an altar to the LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the LORD;" when "the LORD shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the LORD;" when "he shall send them a Saviour, and a great one;" when "there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria," and "Israel shall be the third with them;" the meeting point of the three races united in one holy nation, "whom the LORD of hosts shall bless, saying, "Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."<sup>5</sup> These inspired utterances greatly illumine the narrative of Moses, and support the conclusion that the one God was still invoked at the altars of Egypt when Abraham became the guest of Pharaoh.

Josephus, followed by Eusebius, affirms that many discussions ensued between the father of the faithful and the Egyptian priests. They were, perhaps, begin-

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxviii. 16, Sept. version.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xliii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Psal. lxxxvii. According to the Jewish arrangement, the first verse of this Psalm is a kind of title: "the foundation of the holy mountains." The contents appears to be a comparison of the "holy mounts," giving the preference to Zion.

<sup>4</sup> Psal. lxviii. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xix. 19—25.

ning to lose sight of the personality of the great Spirit whom they adored. This, which has always been the first step in the downward path of apostasy, was the exact error encountered by the revelation of God's *name*. Ancient philosophy always believed in a supreme Divinity; the evil was that it recognised a *power* rather than a *person* ever present with his creatures. This is the starting point of all idolatry. Released from the personal presence of God, the soul wanders amid his works without a guide, and makes to itself idols. The modern Brahmans, though still believing in a Supreme Deity, have lost all notion of relations with him, and, like the Epicureans of old, teach a system of philosophy which has been well styled "Atheism with a God."

Egyptian philosophy was perhaps tottering upon the same precipice when Abraham appeared to summon back its professors to their allegiance to the Personal, Self-existent "I AM." Proud of their wisdom, they may have profited little from his preaching, and this may have been one reason for the shortness of the patriarch's stay. He departed, however, in amity and honour, since immediately after he is found to be "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold."<sup>1</sup> He carried with him also an Egyptian slave, who afterwards became the mother of his first-born son. To Ishmael, again, his mother took a wife out of Egypt. Isaac, indeed, was expressly cautioned against prolonging the intercourse. Still there is no mention of actual idolatry till Joseph's time; then the *caste* feeling shows itself in the refusal of the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews. The scene is altogether changed in the days of Moses; Pharaoh scornfully

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiii. 2.



repudiates the knowledge of Abraham's God; and Moses rejects the alliance of Pharaoh, "esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt."<sup>1</sup> The schism was now complete, and we conclude that the idolatry which occasioned it had been gradually maturing during the four centuries that had elapsed since Abraham's visit. In the same period the kindred Amorites, whose iniquity was not before full, ripened in like manner for the Divine judgment.<sup>2</sup>

This conclusion seems to derive confirmation from the evidence of the earliest Egyptian monuments. In looking at the Pyramids, the feature which at once distinguishes them from all other works of Egyptian art is the entire absence of idolatrous figures or inscriptions. The gates, walls, columns, obelisks, of the later period, are profusely covered with such sculptures; but the Pyramids, presenting so vast a surface, are entirely and most significantly plain. Neither have the most industrious explorations discovered any other testimony in their interior. The First pyramid yields only the founder's name, with the hieroglyphics of *Kneph*, which we have seen to be the oldest appellation of the Creator. The Second pyramid has neither figure nor symbol. In the Third is found the epitaph of Mycerinus; but this belongs to the age of Nitocris, and perhaps of Psamaticus.

The founders of the two larger pyramids were described by the idolatrous priests as tyrants who oppressed the people, and shut up the temples of the gods lest the religious rites should interfere with their labours. Here is a clear indication that no idol

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 25, 26; comp. Exod. v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xv. 16.

ceremonies were performed in the 106 years assigned to their united reigns. Mycerinus was called a pious king, who re-opened the temples and resumed the sacrifices: in other words, he introduced a worship before unknown.

That the later idolatry had no connexion with the Pyramids, or the age that preceded them, is proved by the ignorance of Herodotus and all the Greek writers with respect to their object and date. The priests knew nothing about them beyond the traditional names of their founders. The popular legend ascribed them to the shepherd Philiton, the great enemy of the Egyptian gods. They had clearly no place in the religious system of the temples, but were relics of an entirely different state of society. They stood, like the rude columns of Stonehenge, monuments of a period which had passed into oblivion, leaving no succession in the history or worship of posterity.

Another indication in the same direction is the care bestowed in constructing the Pyramids with their faces towards the four points of the compass. No such arrangement was known to the Egyptian idolaters,—at least, as regards the position of their sacred buildings, no two of which are made to face exactly in the same direction.<sup>1</sup> In their funeral dispositions the *west* was the abode of Osiris, and the symbol of futurity; but the entrance of the Pyramids was in the *north*, and the sarcophagi are placed north and south in the interior. The Osirian rites, again, required a funeral lake or stream, of which no trace is to be found in the Pyramids.

Instead, then, of an unbroken succession from the reign of Menes, the Pyramids seem to attest an

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, v. 75.

entire revolution in the religious ideas and worship of the Ancient Egyptians. Some indication may even be hazarded of the period at which it took place. The inclined passages by which the Pyramids were entered point to the constellation which contained the north pole star 4000 years ago. That this sidereal axis was not unobserved by the worshippers of the Most High God appears from the language of Job: "He stretcheth out the *north* over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."<sup>1</sup> Other calculations, which we shall notice hereafter, bring the reign of Chufu, the supposed author of the Great pyramid, to the year 2350 B. C., which, according to the Septuagint chronology, was about 270 years before the visit of Abraham.

If these slender data could justify any conclusion, we might suppose that Chufu himself was a monotheistic observer of the heavenly bodies; an opponent of idolatry, and on that account maligned by the priests of Amun and Phthah, yet still beginning to corrupt the primitive faith by the speculations of "science, falsely so called." This state of opinion was undoubtedly at one time prevalent among the wise men of the east; and it is just the condition which Abraham, the possessor of a new and personal revelation, might be fitly called upon to reprove and enlighten. With such misguided men he might reason and exhort, when, against polytheists and idolaters, he must, like Moses, have shaken off the very dust from his feet.

The view now suggested may throw light on Manetho's description of this monarch, otherwise contradictory and unintelligible: "he was a despiser of the gods, and wrote a sacred book." Africanus adds

<sup>1</sup> Job xxvi. 7.

that he himself, when in Egypt, obtained a copy of this book as a very precious treasure. Eusebius interpolates that the book was written by Suphis "after his conversion;" but this is obviously a device to get rid of a difficulty: the odium attaching to his name in the time of Herodotus is inconsistent with a conversion to idolatry. It has been thought that the word should be translated, not a "despiser," but a "*speculator*" on the gods:<sup>1</sup> in any case, he was an opponent of idolatry, and firmly prohibited its rites.

The problem may be solved if we suppose, with Dr. Shuckford, that Suphis or Chufu was the author of the speculative theology which gradually led to the corruptions of idolatry. His book may even have been written to refute the folly of representing the Invisible Spirit by idols; and yet it may have been so truly the parent of an idolatrous theology, as to be laid up among the sacred books of the temples when idolatry was universal. Such is, in fact, the character of some of the sacred writings of the Hindus at the present day. The Brahmans boast the purity of their theology, at the same time that they find in them the germ and justification of the grossest idolatry.

With so many concurring hints to confirm the conclusion that Egypt retained the light of the primæval revelation down, at least, to the period of Abraham's visit, we can have no difficulty in accounting for those exalted truths which attracted the admiration of the Greek philosophers even in the midst of its idolatries. The immortality of the soul, the responsibility of man at the tribunal of God, and a righteous judgment according to the deeds done in the body, were all

<sup>1</sup> Shuckford's *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, i. 192.



parts of the original faith ; according to our Saviour's exposition of Exod. iii. 6, they were the groundwork of the patriarchal religion.<sup>1</sup>

To the same fountain-head must be attributed the resemblances, which have been often pointed out, between the institutions of Egypt and of Moses. The Hebrew lawgiver did not draw his inspiration from the "wisdom of the Egyptians," but was enabled to re-ascend and drink at its source, in the Divine revelation. "The idea that the law was an Egyptian invention is one of the worst examples of modern reckless criticism."<sup>2</sup> No two systems could be more essentially distinct. So far as the Egyptians had departed from the primæval revelation, the institutes of Moses stand in direct and stern opposition. The Egyptians themselves believed he was actuated by a determination to *contradict* all that they held most sacred. The first chapter of Genesis is as plainly levelled at their cosmogony, as the first and second commandments are at their idolatry. While some things were common to the two rites, many more were forbidden to the Jews, as if expressly to sever between them and the Egyptians. Shaving the head and beard,<sup>3</sup> tattooing the body,<sup>4</sup> giving food to the dead,<sup>5</sup> planting trees round the altar,<sup>6</sup> witchcraft,<sup>7</sup>—all practised in the Egyptian rites,—are specially forbidden in the Levitical. On the other hand, the ceremonies common to both were invested under the Mosaic covenant with a *meaning* wholly unknown to the Egyptians. Circumcision was to the children of Abraham the badge of a peculiar covenant. The ark, the tabernacle, and the priesthood, however ex-

1 Matt. xxii. 31.    2 Diet. Bible, 502.    3 Lev. xxi. 5.    4 Lev. xix. 28.

5 Deut. xxvii. 14.    6 Deut. xvi. 21.    7 Lev. xx. 27.

ternally alike, were consecrated to uses foreign and antagonistic to those of Egypt. They were the witnesses of a Divine presence and government unknown to any other age or people. Moses not only denounced future rewards and punishments, but rested his institutions on a present interposition of God, which no other legislator ever dared to invoke. This bringing near of the Divine presence to a chosen people introduced the new feature of a *church*, which, in the general apostasy of human nature, was henceforth to preserve and transmit the true idea of God.

It is a melancholy proof of the fall of man, that such repeated renewals of revelation should be needed to keep alive in his heart the knowledge and fear of his Creator. It is sometimes said that a rational being has only to survey the manifest tokens of power, wisdom, and goodness in the works of creation, in order to be satisfied of the existence and attributes of God. Inspiration and revelation are thought superfluous, or even injurious, in comparison with this universal communion with the Almighty, supposed to be inseparable from "reason, conscience, and the religious sentiment."<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, however, experience shows that there is no tendency so strong and universal as the tendency to idolatry. It has subdued the "reason, conscience, and religious sentiment" of every race, and family, and individual *not* sustained by supernatural revelation. The experiment has been worked out again and again, and always with one result. Idolatry lurks in every man's heart, and is developed by the very power of his intellect: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> *The Bible and Modern Thought*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. i. 22.

is perhaps reappearing among ourselves in the very theories which account it to be irrational and impossible.

The precise method by which the Egyptians fell away from the truth cannot now be distinctly traced; but the apostle's definition of idolatry is applicable to all its forms: it "worships and serves the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever."<sup>1</sup> This degrading sin had its origin in the very contemplations which ought to make it impossible. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge."<sup>2</sup> Such is the voice of reason no less than of revelation; it is heard from the philosopher as well as the psalmist. Cicero thought it incumbent on a rational mind, however much it might be confused at the first aspect of the world, after noting its regular and equable movements,—its government ruling all things with fixed laws and a never changing consistency,—to recognise the BEING *within*, not only as the Tenant of a Divine and heavenly habitation, but also the Ruler and Governor, yea, as it were, the Architect of the great work with all its functions.<sup>3</sup> Yet Cicero was himself an idolater, and that as the effect of his own rationalizing. He held the notion that the universe was animated by the Deity within as a man is animated by his soul. This was one of the oldest

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Psa. xix. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Sic philosophi debuerunt, si fortè eos primus aspectus mundi conturbaverat, postea cum vidissent motus ejus finitos et æquabiles, omniaque ratis ordinibus moderata, immutabilique constantia, intelligere inesse aliquem non solum habitatorem in hac celesti ac divinâ domo, sed etiam, Rectorem et Moderatorem et tanquam Architectum tanti operis tantique muneris."—*De Nat. Deorum*, lib. ii. 43.



forms of error, and is still a favourite doctrine with the Brahman idolaters. By destroying the Divine personality, it leads to imagining ourselves parts of the Infinite Soul. Hence follows Pantheism, which accounts all objects to be more or less manifestations of the Divinity, and this at once supplies the theory of creature-worship and all kinds of idolatry.

Other ancient theorists deified the Divine attributes, his perfections, or the laws which he had prescribed to their exercise. Nature, and the powers of nature, were deemed living agencies, and adored as gods, apart from, though inferior to, the Supreme. These speculations lodged themselves in the elements or heavenly bodies: to the sun especially, as the god of day, was assigned a foremost place. His influence on the atmosphere and the soil being the apparent cause of the earth bringing forth her fruit in due season, he was invoked as her husband. Nature, too, was a universal parent, at once the mother, consort, and daughter of the sun. These metaphors, embellished by the poets with a hundred imaginations, were embodied in rites suited only for the worship of devils. *Baalpeor* was a form of the sun-god, and *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte* was originally Nature, though also identified with the moon and with Venus. The oldest form of idolatry which occurs in the Bible is "kissing the hand to the sun when it shineth, and to the moon walking in brightness."<sup>1</sup> The great majority of the Egyptian deities also bear a marked reference to the sun. The Book of Wisdom exposes the folly of those who "deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circuit of the stars, or the violent water, or the light of heaven, to be the gods which

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxi. 26, 27.



govern the world." Yet these opinions were everywhere prevalent, save only within the limited range of revelation. Delighted at their beauty, or astounded at their power and virtue, they considered not "how much better the Lord of them is." Though less to be blamed, perhaps, than those which called on the work of their own hands, "howbeit, neither are they to be pardoned: for if they were able to know so much that they could aim at the world, how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?"<sup>1</sup>

It is no answer to this reproach to say that a Supreme Deity was generally recognised. The Brahmans acknowledge as much at this day, yet openly teach "that He has nothing to do with the creatures, nor the creatures with him." The deification of his operations intercepts the adoration due to himself. The worship of the creature is contradictory to that of the Creator. It never fails to extend itself from intellectual abstractions and the works of God to the works of man. The philosophy which pretends to adore the Great First Cause in all his manifestations, passes from the heavenly bodies to any lower object of popular veneration, and finds in it an equally acceptable medium. Men and animals, mystic signs and words, even graven images, become emblems of the unseen. The philosopher hugs his theory for a little while, despising the common people who ignorantly worship the stock and the stone; but as the emblems multiply, the explanations become more and more obscure. The philosophy decays while the idolatry triumphs. Thick darkness overtakes both the teacher and the taught, and sad experience comes to verify the wise man's exclamation, "Miserable are they, and

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. xiii. 2, 3, 8.

in dead things is their hope, who called them gods which are the works of men's hands."

Another prolific source of ancient idolatry was the deification of dead men. The soul, which was believed to be an emanation of the divinity, might easily be imagined to attain increased powers for evil or for good after passing into the unseen world. Natural affection loved to think it still retained an interest in human affairs, and appealed to it by the dear memory of former associations. This spontaneous feeling, towards those whom death has but recently separated from us, shows itself in the saint-worship of modern superstition, as in the hero-worship of the ancient. In the earliest ages it often elevated the real or traditional head of a people to the rank of a god. Some writers find the first origin of all idolatry in the worship of Noah and his three sons, "of whom the whole earth was overspread."<sup>1</sup>

This man-worship was sometimes united with that of the heavenly bodies. The departed spirit was located in one of the brilliant homes on high, and there confounded with its original deity. Thus the same legends have been referred to Noah and to the sun; and it is often hard to say whether the altar was raised to a man, a genius, an idea, or a star.

These various elements, mingling and multiplying in the darkened understanding, render it impossible to trace with accuracy the rise and progress of any particular system of polytheism. Systems indeed they were not: the wisest philosophers were never able

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ix. 19. "The veneration of the common parent, ruler, and instructor still prevails in those countries which have had little intercourse with the rest of mankind, and have lived for ages on the same spot in a microcosm of their own."—*Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge*, i. 76.

to combine and classify the prolific offspring of an excited imagination. A variety of rites grew up like weeds in their several localities, and spread into others without eradicating the previous growth. It was not till after a long traditional reception that new philosophies arose to weave into system the incongruous offspring of older ones.

Such is the uniform history of the human mind when employed on Divine things without Divine revelation. It should moderate the tone of those who think by the mere force of reason to “mount from nature up to nature’s God”—who would subject the Bible itself to a “verifying faculty” in the fallen creature whom it is designed to enlighten and guide. If truth be one and error manifold, Revelation attests itself by the sublime unity of its teaching amid the intricate diversities of idolatry. It is a gift which unassisted reason can neither originate nor preserve. In endeavouring to thread the tangled maze of Egyptian superstition, let it be borne in mind that the proudest intellects have been pilgrims at its ruined shrines; and that, if a brighter illumination be enjoyed by ourselves, it radiates from the one source of intellectual, no less than of moral and spiritual, regeneration,—the sun of man’s reason,—the Inspired Volume in which God himself says, **LET THERE BE LIGHT, AND THERE IS LIGHT.**

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE IDOLS.

*No native System—Greek Parallels—Real diversity—Manetho—Herodotus—Eight principal Deities—Twelve secondary—Many others—The Nile—The Land—Rising Sun—Local Deities—Third Order Universal—Legend of Osiris—Supplanted older Forms—Possible Origin and Date—Allegorical—Historical—Osiris is Menes and Mizraim—Judge of the Dead—Remarks—Reason inadequate—Light of Revelation—Christian Privileges.*

THE monuments of the idolatrous period are covered with representations of the deities and their worship; but they afford little insight into the nature and origin of the conceptions which those figures were designed to embody; nor has any native priest left us a connected account of their religious system. Our information is chiefly derived from Greek and Latin writers, whose leading object was to trace in Egypt the origin of their own superstitions. The gods, it was said, were born on the banks of the Nile—a tradition which the Egyptian priests took care to sustain by stories of their deities travelling through the world, and being received under various names in different lands. In this way the Greek and Roman divinities were provided with prototypes in Egypt, in whom we can now trace but little resemblance. Jupiter, Vulcan, Saturn, Pan, Hercules, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Minerva, Diana, Latona,—in short, all the classic gods except Neptune, the Nereids, and the Graces,—were believed to have their counterparts in the sanctuaries of the Nile. In reality



the two religious systems differed as widely as the genius and character of the two races.

To the poetical imagination of the Greeks every god was a distinct person, having his own parentage and history, with a proper rank in the celestial court, and a special office and authority upon earth. The Egyptian, on the other hand, was a philosophical more than a poetical system: their deities were not so much fictitious personages as intellectual abstractions. With the exception of the Osirian legend, they had neither history, adventures, nor personal character. Each assumed the attributes and offices of another; parents changed places with children; even the sexes were not immutable. The deified mortal himself lost his personality in mounting this dreamy Olympus; the historical character disappeared in a cloud of idealism.

When these two systems came to be collated it was easy to mould the phantom gods of Egypt—pale, colourless outlines of deity—to the shapes devised by the warmer imagination and more practical intellect of European mythology. The conceptions of the Egyptian idolater, however, are not to be measured by the creations of the Greek Pantheon. To trace his religious views we must abandon the familiar scenes of classical mythology for the dream-land of Oriental philosophy.

According to Manetho, “the first god was Vulcan, represented to be the discoverer of fire; from him proceeded the Sun; afterwards Agathodæmon; then Saturn; then Osiris; after Osiris his brother Typhon; and last Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis.” The earlier priests who conversed with Herodotus divided the gods into three orders; 1, eight original, among whom were the Greek deities Pan and Leta,

or Latona; 2, twelve descended from them, of whom Hercules was one; and, 3, a class which included Dionusos or Bacchus, who is stated in another place to be Osiris.

A general resemblance may be traced between the two traditions; but all such attempts at classification seem to be the work of later ages, when the deities of different localities came to be amalgamated into one system. The truth was that Upper Egypt had a different mythology from Lower, and every nome its own principal deity. No arrangement has been satisfactorily established from the monuments; and we shall content ourselves with enumerating the principal idols in what appears to be the most natural order.

1. The oldest name of deity in Egypt, and one still found upon the monuments, was *Num* or *Nef*, which the Greeks wrote *Chnubis* and *Kneph*.<sup>1</sup> It is said to signify either spirit or water,<sup>2</sup> perhaps in allusion to the Spirit of God, who "in the beginning moved on the face of the waters." He was styled *Agathodæmon*, the Good God, and "the Great Potter," or Creator. The earliest writers unanimously speak of him as "the Spirit without beginning or end;" and the sentiments of the ancient Egyptians on the unity and spirituality of the Deity were the admiration of Greek philosophers.<sup>3</sup>

In the later idolatry Kneph was the special god of

<sup>1</sup> The initial *n* was pronounced with a nasal breathing which the Greeks found it difficult to express. They describe it as "rolling in upon itself;" it was perhaps not unlike the *kn* in modern German (*knabe*). The *m* was expressed in Greek both by *b* and *ph*.

<sup>2</sup> From *nef*, to blow, or *nun*, water.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyry and others in Eusebius, Præp. Ev. i. 10, and iii. 11. Plut. de Iside and Osirid, 359.

Upper Egypt, where he was represented in human shape, with the head of a ram. He was still considered to be the creator of other gods, and is figured at Elephantine sitting at a potter's wheel, fashioning the limbs of Osiris, while the god of the Nile is pouring water on the clay. The idea seems the same as in Job: "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about. Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay." The apostle also adopts the same familiar metaphor: "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"<sup>1</sup>

The ram's head was explained to Herodotus by the priests of Thebes in the following legend. Hercules, being desirous of seeing Jupiter, and persisting in his request after many refusals, the god at last clothed himself in the fleece and head of a ram, and so revealed himself to the sight of his importunate worshipper. On this account (adds the historian) the Thebans, who do not ordinarily sacrifice rams, which they deem sacred, yet once a year, on the feast of Jupiter, slay a ram and invest his image with the fleece; after which they bring an image of Hercules to meet it.<sup>2</sup>

The primitive truth embodied in this myth might possibly be that God is revealed only through faith in his appointed sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> It is not improbable that some reference may be implied to the sacrifices of Abraham, whose especial privilege it was to see God. We find Moses also uttering the prayer, "I beseech thee show me thy glory;"<sup>4</sup> and one of the Beatitudes which open our Lord's sermon on the mount is, "Blessed are

1 Job x. 8, 9; Rom. ix. 23.

3 See Heb. xi. 4.

2 Herod., ii. 41.

4 Exod. xxxiii. 18.

the pure in heart; for they shall see God.”<sup>1</sup> This hope was doubtless present in the offerings of Abel, and Noah, and the patriarchs before the law. It will be fully realized in all who, being washed in the blood of the “Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,” and made the sons of God now, will hereafter be “like him, and see him as he is.”<sup>2</sup>



2. At Thebes, Kneph was superseded by a later conception entitled Amun or Amun-ra, king of the gods, who was considered by the Greeks to be equivalent to their Zeus or Jupiter. He is represented with the figure and countenance of a man seated on a throne, crowned with two prodigiously long feathers, and bearing the emblems of life and stability.<sup>3</sup> According

to Manetho, his name signified “concealed.” The

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 8.

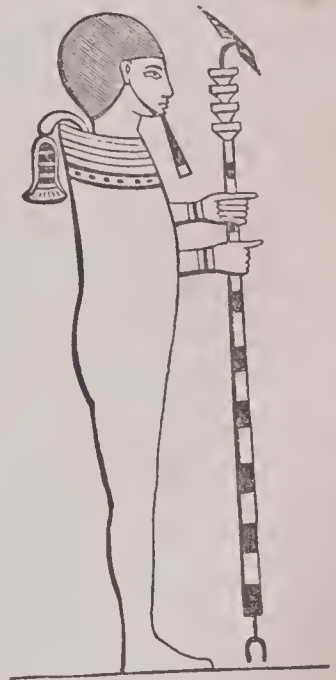
<sup>2</sup> 1 John iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The first of these, the cross with a handle (termed the *crux ansata*), is found in the hand of all the idols, and their common appellation is Giver of life. The staff, which is thought to denote stability, is also called a Nilometer, as though intended to gauge the inundation.



name of Amun is not found earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty, when it appears in some of the royal designations. On many monuments it has clearly been substituted for some earlier divinity, whose hieroglyphics were chiselled out for the purpose. This alteration probably took place under the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the arms of Thebes were extended over Lower Egypt, and its favourite deity was proclaimed king of the gods.<sup>1</sup> From this deity Thebes was called No Ammon, and Diospolis or city of Jove, and its Pharaohs were styled sons of Amun. The ram was sacred to him as well as to Kneph, and in some temples the two are seated side by side. They were commemorated as one, in a Latin inscription at Syene, *Jovi Hammoni Cenubidi*, to Jupiter Amun Kneph.

3. In Lower Egypt the supreme deity was *Phthah*, a word which has not been traced to any Egyptian etymology, but resembles the Hebrew verb to *open*, *loosen*, or *reveal*. The later priests identified him with the Greek Hephaistos (Vulcan); but beyond being a worker in fire, Phthah had little resemblance to the lame blacksmith of Lemnos. The Memphites adored him as the lord and maker of the



<sup>1</sup> The manifest substitution of this name for another, has given rise to various hypotheses. Baron Bunsen conjectures that Khem was the name erased. Mr. Birch holds that Amun had been effaced by the sun-worshippers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and was

universe, fashioning all things by fire. Some representations exhibited him as proceeding out of an egg which came from the mouth of Kneph. He was generally figured as a mummy, swathed in bandages, with the head and hands protruding, as if to symbolize the first putting forth of the creative power. At other times he has his limbs free, and is forming an egg (the symbol of life), on a potter's wheel.



A third, and probably later representation, is found in great numbers in the tombs of Saccara, and called Phthah Sokar Osiris. It is a pigmy figure, with a bald, disproportioned head, covered with a priest's cap, the legs being not unfrequently bowed like Vulcan's. The Memphite Pharaohs termed themselves sons of Phthah, as those of Thebes rejoiced in the appellation of children of Amun.

4. Next to Phthah was the great virgin deity *Neith*, whose name is said to signify "I came from myself;" she was probably an impersonation of Nature. Her temple, the largest in Egypt, was at Sais, the kings of which called themselves her sons. It was open to the sky, and bore an inscription, "I am all that was, and is, and is to be; no mortal has lifted up my veil, and the fruit which I brought forth is the sun." One of her titles is the *Great Cow, parent of the sun*.<sup>1</sup> She

restored on their suppression; while Mr. Sharpe seems to postpone the sun-worship to the time of the Persians, and conceives that Mandu was the deity who then for a time usurped the honours of Amun.

<sup>1</sup> Birch, Gallery British Museum, 12.

is called also *Muth*, the universal mother, and queen of heaven.

This goddess wears the red crown of Lower Egypt, indicating the proper seat of her worship; but her monuments are found in the Upper region also. By reversing her hieroglyphic signs, N T (*i. e.*, by reading them in the European instead of the Asiatic manner), may have been formed *Athene*, the patron goddess of Athens, which city was supposed to have been founded from Sais. The owl, her favourite bird, is also found upon the coinage of the Delta; but the virgin mother of Egypt seems to have had little else in common with the Minerva, who sprang full armed from the brain of Jupiter.

5. The metaphor which represented the prolific powers of nature under the image of a female deity, was more coarsely expressed in Upper Egypt, by giving a *consort* to the principal gods. Thus there was a female Amun, called Ament ("t" being the feminine article), who wore the white crown of the Upper region, and was styled the enthroned of Thebes, mistress of heaven, and ruler of the world. In another form Ament bears the name of *Maut* or *Muth*, and symbolizes the universal parent. Her emblem was the vulture, the symbol of maternity, and she was perhaps the goddess whom Herodotus calls Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, *i. e.*, of the sun and moon.

6. Kneph, too, had his consort *Sate* (arrow, or sun-beam), the effluence of an invisible glory. She is figured crowned, and bearing the symbol of life, the cross, which is common to all the deities. The Greeks called her Hera (or Juno), a name more generally given to Ament. She is also styled Mother of Darkness.

7. All idolaters give an important place in their religious system to the *sun*, as the most glorious manifestation of the powers of creation and nature. The first adoration was paid to the shining orb itself;<sup>1</sup> then a deity was imagined as residing in it; and hence arose the principal difference in the old idolatrous world. The Magians continued to adore the sun itself, and his element, fire. The Sabeans worshipped the sun-god



in the shape of an idol. The Egyptian idolatry was of the latter kind, and all the deities seem in some way connected with the sun. In his proper person the sun was the third great deity of Lower Egypt. His temple was at On, called Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun; and his name was Ra, or Re, which, with the article prefixed, is Phra. He was styled the offspring, both of Phthah (the god of fire) and of Neith.

Ra was represented in human form with the head of a hawk, the most sacred of living creatures; and in paintings his colour was red. In the hieroglyphics his symbol is the sun's disk: the bull was his sacred animal.<sup>2</sup> He was adored as lord and king of the visible world,<sup>3</sup> whence

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> In a Welsh poem the chiefs are called the bulls and hawks of the host.—*Doct. Del.*, 136.

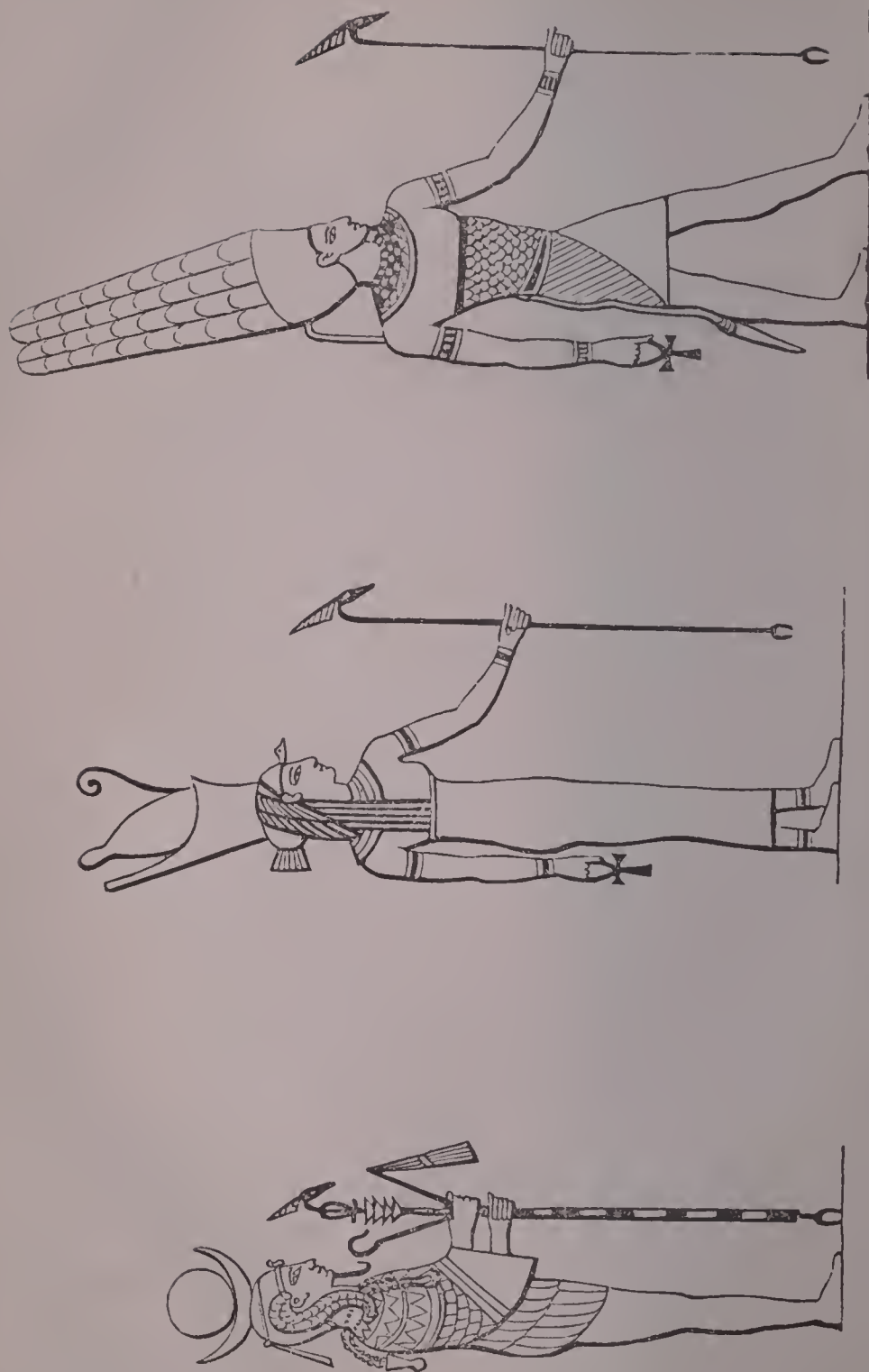
<sup>3</sup> Hence, perhaps, the Latin *rex*, Italian *re*, French *roi*.



his name was used, like Baal, Malek, and Adonai (names of the sun in other languages), as a designation of royalty, both by gods and men. The principal deities had it subjoined to their own names (Num-ra, Amun-ra), and wore his symbol on their heads. The monarch styled himself *Si-ra*, child of the sun, expressed in hieroglyphics by the sun's disk, and the goose, the emblem of sonship. The sun is always on the royal scutcheon; and the very word for king, "*ouro*," is supposed to be derived from Ra. With the article it became *Pharaoh*, the royal appellation of every Egyptian king.<sup>1</sup> The royal asp was for the same reason called *uræus*, and in Greek *basilisk*.

8. The sun's influence was figured in Upper Egypt under an image of another kind, which the natives called *Khem* or *Cham*, and the Greeks *Pan*. His emblem was the goat; but he was never represented (like Pan) with the horns and legs of that animal, and he held a far higher rank in the Egyptian Pantheon. His chief temple was at Mendes (in Central Egypt), called Chemmopolis and Panopolis, the city of Khem, or Pan. *Khem* was intended to symbolize the power that fertilizes the earth, and bears, in fact, the same name with the land of Egypt itself. He may be considered the god of the land; perhaps a deification of Ham, the patriarch of the race. On the monuments he is associated with a bull and other agricultural emblems. In the palace of Rameses the Great the king is seen adoring him with an oblation of ears of corn, cut from the sheaf with a golden sickle. He appears to have stood on a par with Amun and Kneph. Baron Bunsen thinks that his was the name obliterated from the statues to make room for Amun:

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen, ii.



TRIAD OF AMUN-KA, AMENT, AND THEIR OFFSPRING CHONSU.

both had the affix of *Ra*, which has remained untouched by the chisel of the innovator.

These eight divinities may perhaps have constituted the "first order" of Herodotus. The second were styled their children, and each of the foregoing is actually represented on the monuments as a parent of other divinities. The usual grouping is a god with his consort and their child; the triad being repeated under different combinations in different nomes. The relations of father, mother, and son are not everywhere sustained by the same figures; but the idea of two deities producing a third recurs with so much frequency that it is thought to have originated the whole mythology.

This arrangement has been viewed as a distorted shadow of the Divine existence in Three Persons: we should rather look upon it as a relic of the first hope and expectation of fallen man, the *Promised Seed*. To unassisted reason the birth of a god seems incredible, yet it is the foundation of all mythology; and it is certain that such a manifestation of divinity was generally expected throughout the Gentile world. In Egypt every temple contained a birth-chamber, on the walls of which the mystic nativity was actually depicted. The goddess mother is seen attended by other female deities, and the new-born god is presented to the father for a benediction. The continual recurrence of this representation under different combinations proves how deep was the impression in which it originated. It must certainly imply some wide-spread expectation of further revelations through a Divine Being to be born into the world.

If we suppose these derived deities to constitute the second order of Herodotus, there is still a difficulty in selecting, from the larger numbers on the monu-

ments, the twelve to whom he referred. The following are the names suggested by Bunsen:—

1. *Chonsu*, or *Chons*, the eldest son of Amun and Ament, supposed to be the Hercules of Herodotus. He was figured in swathings like Phthah, but wearing a long lock of hair over the left ear;—a custom peculiar to the Egyptian princes and the children of the gods. Chons is sometimes represented with the head of a hawk upon which is the moon. At Ombos, where the crocodile was the popular emblem of deity, he appears as the son of Sevek-ra and Athor. In the original conception Hercules represented the abstract idea of *strength* (in ancient Egyptian, *Gom* or *Chom*). He was either the power of the deity, or the force of the sun; hence Chonsu is called the son both of Amun and of Re. The sun and moon were represented as sailing round the world in boats; the one accompanied by Hercules (Chons), the other by Mercury (Thoth).

In some inscriptions Chons is called the “god with two names;” and again, “champion of Upper Egypt,” and “terrifier of demons.” His temple at Karnak contains a singular inscription, in which these characters appear as two persons; one of whom sends the other on an expedition to a foreign country, in order to deliver the princess from the power of a demon.<sup>1</sup> This early connexion of a lunar deity with a possession by evil spirits is very remarkable. The ape or cynocephalus was sacred to Chons, and was kept in the temple as his living representative.

2. *Thoth* or *Taut*, son of Kneph, and god of the moon, whose emblem was the Ibis;—a bird which, from

<sup>1</sup> See a paper by Sam. Birch, Esq., in the Transactions of Royal Society of Literature, vol. iv. N. S.

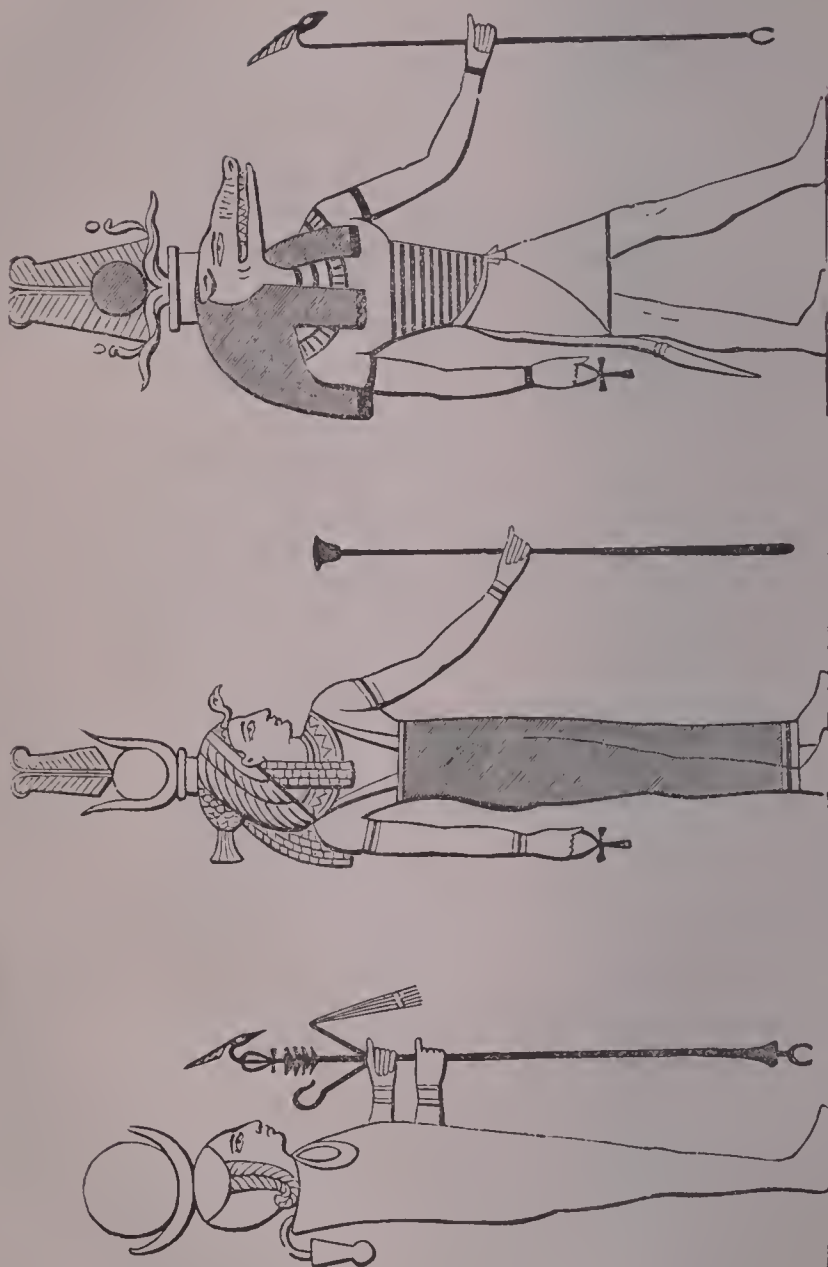


destroying venomous reptiles, attracted the respect elsewhere paid to the stork. Its black and white feathers were thought to symbolize the moon's gibbosity.<sup>1</sup> Its legs, when walking, were observed to form an equilateral triangle; and in this position, standing on a perch, it was the hieroglyphic of the god's name. Thoth is usually represented as a human figure, with the head of an ibis, holding a tablet or roll of papyrus in his hand, as scribe of



the gods. As the moon god, he has a man's face, with the crescent or disk of the moon on his forehead. Thoth, being the god of letters, was believed to officiate as scribe of the lower regions where the dead were judged. His various important functions

<sup>1</sup> This term is applied by astronomers to the appearance of the moon when moving in opposition to the sun; the illumined part is then convex or *gibbous*.



TRIAD OF SEVEK-IA, ATHOR, AND CHONS AS THEIR OFFSPRING, WORSHIPPED AT OMBOS.

made him the most considerable divinity of the second class. He was the first Hermes of Manetho; the preceptor of Isis, the inventor of letters, astronomy, harmony, and sacred worship. He invented the lyre, fitted with three strings after the three Egyptian seasons, and was the patron of elocution; whence he was called the interpreter. In these respects he answers to Mercury, the messenger of the gods to men, but was really, perhaps, a deification of the *intellect*, divine or human. His consort, *Saf*, was called "mistress of the writings and president of letters."

The temple of Thoth was at Hermopolis, where he was styled lord of the Upper Region. Like Chons, he was represented by the *cynocephalus*, or dog-faced baboon. A *second* Hermes, called Trismegistus or thrice great, worshipped at Pselcis (Dakkeh) in Nubia, was probably an emanation of Thoth, though some say he was a priest and philosopher who lived a little after Moses, and wrote the sacred books popularly ascribed to the god of letters. He was represented with a staff, having a snake twined round it, like Mercury's *Caduceus*. Thoth was in all probability the same with *Athothis*, the son of Menes, whom Eratosthenes calls Hermogenes.

3. *Atmu* (Thothmoo, Tmou), son of Phthah, and one of the principal deities of the second order. Though principally worshipped in Lower Egypt, he is conspicuous on the temples of Thebes; and the paintings in the tombs represent him in company with Thoth, among the gods of the dead. Another Atmoo, with the prefix *Nofre* (the good), appears to be a variety or "emanation" of the same conception.

4. Pecht, or Pasht, the goddess of Bubastis, called



the beloved of Phthah and lady of Memphis. Her most ancient form had the head of a lioness crowned, as a daughter of the sun, with the disk and uræus. She was also represented with a human face like Athor, and is thought by some to be a form of Neith. The Greeks conceived her to be their Artemis or Diana. Her statues in black syenite are very numerous.

5. *Athor* (*Het-her*), a daughter of Ra, called the eye of the sun, whose symbol was the white cow. She is ordinarily represented with the cow's horns, wearing a disk between them.<sup>1</sup> This did not prevent the Greeks from identifying her with Aphrodite or Venus. She was the lady of dance and mirth, the patron goddess of queens and of women generally. Like Venus, she is represented as the wife of several deities. At Philæ she was the consort of Kneph, at Ombos of Sevek-ra, at Edfu of Har-hat, and at Karnak of Phthah. In her own temple at Denderah she appears as the wife of Horus. Some authorities make her to be another form of Neith, the universal parent. Temples were dedicated to her in all parts of Egypt. Like other female deities, she was afterwards confounded with Isis, and is represented in her temple at Philæ as suckling the son of Osiris and Isis, with the title of

<sup>1</sup> The crescent formed by the horns of the cow was an emblem of the moon, or, according to the learned author of the "Doctrine of the Deluge" (i. 145), of the Ark of Noah.



“Nurse-wife, who fills heaven and earth with her beneficent acts.”<sup>1</sup>

6. Mau, or Mui, a son of Ra, signifying light. His emblem is the ostrich feather, typical of justice or truth, because the feathers of this bird were supposed to be all *equal*. He stands behind the throne of Atmu, and was called *En-pe*, the leader of heaven. His images are made of porcelain. He is sometimes found with a bull's head, and hands uplifted in prayer or benediction.

7. Ma, or *Thmei*, whence the Greek *Themis*, the goddess of truth and justice, a daughter of Ra, adorned, like the last, with the ostrich feather. She is called the goddess of Lower Egypt, and is represented both with and without wings. Her image is often seen in the hands of the kings, who present it as a fit offering to the gods: “beloved of truth,” is frequently adopted as a regal title. The chief judge, when presiding at trials, had a figure of this goddess suspended from his neck, with her eyes closed; with this he touched the successful party, in token that right was on his side. A similar emblem was used by the high priest of the Jews; and the word *Thummim* (signifying the “two truths”) exactly corresponds to the twofold character of truth and justice ascribed to the Egyptian Thmei. She was accounted the great cardinal virtue on earth: and at the final judgment, the souls which were justified carry the ostrich feather, which was her emblem. On this account her hieroglyphic signified a “justified”—in common parlance, a “deceased”—person.

8. *Tefnu*, also a daughter of Ra, a goddess with the

<sup>1</sup> This representation is perhaps connected with the name of the island, *fil* or *phil*, being the Ethiopian word for a son (compare the Latin *filius*). Elephantine, though so different in our mode of spelling, is the same word with the consonants reversed, L P H instead of P H L.

cat's or lioness's head, like Pecht. She often appears on the monuments as the consort of Chonsu, who is sometimes lionheaded.

9. *Mntu*, *Muntu*, or *Mandu*, a son of Ra, hawk-headed, like his father. His colour is red, like the sun's. His titles designate him as the Ares, or Mars, of the Egyptians. He is the principal figure in the triad at Hermonthis. His temple was at Mendes, one of the mouths of the Nile, and the seat of one of the last dynasties of native Pharaohs. During their ascendancy he was proclaimed king of gods, usurping the place of Amun-ra on some of the monuments at Thebes itself.



10. *Sebak*, *Sevek*, or *Sevk*, the crocodile-headed deity of Ombos, another deified form of the sun, often bearing the affix, *Ra*. He wears the ram's horns also as one of the deities of Thebes: sometimes, though rarely, he appears with the ram's head and asp of Kneph. The crocodile, his sacred animal, was venerated at Ombos and some other towns in the Thebaid: at others it was held in the utmost abhorrence. Serious conflicts often ensued

between these rival sects; Juvenal even charges the Tentyrites with eating the flesh of one of their adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Juv. Sat. xv. 80.

11. *Seb*, the Greek Chronos, or Saturn, is by some considered the same as Sevek. He was called both the youngest of the divinities and the father of the gods.

12. Nutpe, or Netpe, daughter to the sun, wife of Seb, and mother of Osiris. She was called the mother of the gods, and figured as pouring the water of life from a sycamore tree on the souls of men. In one form she personifies the abyss of heaven, represented as a female figure stretched across the etherial vault, with her arms and legs enclosing the earth. She was thought to be the Rhea of the Greeks.

Many other deities are found in different triads, some of which, perhaps, represent similar or but slightly varied conceptions to the foregoing; and others may be thought more important. One of these, Anuk, appears with Kneph and Sate at the cataracts, as the nurse of their progeny. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, she is the Vesta of the Egyptian Pantheon. A very similar yet different goddess was worshipped at the city of Eilethyias, in the character of Lucina. She bore the name of *Seneb* or *Soven*.

A deity of still higher rank was the river god Nilus, called *Hapi Mou*, "the genius of the water." He was figured as a fat man of a blue colour, with water plants growing on his head. The colour, perhaps, denotes the origin of the name Nile, which in many Eastern languages still signifies *blue*. The term was used of large rivers and mountains, which often appear of that colour. The river god is represented binding the thrones of the Pharaohs with the lotus and papyrus of the Upper and Lower Nile. In this office he is assisted by Thoth. At Luxor are two figures of this idol, one blue and the other *red*; the latter perhaps, intended

to represent the colour of the water during the inundation. At Silsilis he is figured in a triad as the offspring of Re and Phthah. At Philæ he sits beneath the cataracts, pouring water from a jar in each hand. His great temple was at Nilopolis; but in every city on his banks there were priests specially appointed to his service. A corpse, even of a foreigner, if found in the river, was to be embalmed in the neighbouring town, and deposited in the sacred sepulchre: the priests of the Nile would allow no one to touch it but themselves, and they buried it with their own hands, as something more than human.<sup>1</sup>

As the river had its genius, so also the land: "*Khemi*," the "pure land," was personified with the emblem of purity on her head, and armed with a battle-axe, a bow, and arrows; in some degree resembling one of the forms of Neith. The several cities, again, boasted their patron deities. Thaba was honoured at Thebes, Tentore at Tentyris; and a sun, supported by two asps with outspread wings, was everywhere figured over doors and windows as the tutelary genius of the spot. This emblem was called Harhat and *Agathodæmon*. Mr. Birch understands it to mean the "Morning Sun," supposing it to be in the mind of the prophet when uttering the glorious prediction of a Sun of righteousness to arise with healing *in his wings*.<sup>2</sup>

In short, there was not a spot of ground nor a moment of time left unconsecrated by some fanciful superstition. "Every day in the year was dedicated to a god, and every sign and subdivision of the zodiac had its own genius."<sup>3</sup> The very hours were regarded as divinities, each under the care of some fraction of the Infinite Essence. They are introduced

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Mal. iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kenrick, i. 430.



in the tombs, where the deceased seems to be reviewing his lost time, and making offering to the hours in succession from the first to the twelfth. Singularly enough, the hieroglyphic name for these objects of worship is *Now*, which has the same meaning in Coptic as in English. As if it were meant to signify that no time is open to religion but the *present*—that “*now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation.”<sup>1</sup>

It is not to be supposed, however, that all these idols were equally or universally objects of adoration. The very number of the divinities would prevent their being known to every worshipper. It was easier, said the Greeks, to find a god than a man on the banks of the Nile. Every nome had its own deities and temple ritual; the common people, like the natives of India at this day, probably had their domestic and village superstitions, more influential than the temple worship. With respect to the gods of the first and second orders, Herodotus expressly says they were not everywhere worshipped alike. It was the *third* order alone which attained to a national recognition and a common rite. These they all worshipped in a similar manner.<sup>2</sup>

This order consisted of Osiris and the deities belonging to his circle. They are the only Egyptian gods, who appealed to popular sympathies with a mythological legend like the Greek. The story was that Nupte (whom the classic writers call Rhea) had five children on five successive days: *Osiris*, *Aroeris*, *Typhon*, *Isis*, and *Nephthys*. They were born on the

<sup>1</sup> A similar coincidence is found in the word *week*, called in the Egyptian *uk*.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 42.

five *intercalary* days, added to the 360 of which the year originally consisted. Osiris became the husband of Isis, and their offspring was the younger *Horus*; Typhon married Nephthys, and their son was *Anubis*.

Osiris, it is said, ascended the throne of Egypt, and after civilizing his subjects, and teaching them agriculture, departed on a tour through the world, accompanied by his brother Apollo, Anubis, and Pan.<sup>1</sup> His kingdom was left to the regency of Isis, assisted by Hermes (Thoth) as minister, and by Hercules in command of the army. Osiris passed through Ethiopia (where he collected a troop of *satyrs*),<sup>2</sup> and thence by Arabia into Asia, and afterwards into Europe, everywhere diffusing the worship of the gods, and the *knowledge of the Supreme Being*.

During his absence his brother Typhon raised a sedition, and on the return of Osiris murdered him in a secret apartment. He then cut the corpse in pieces, and distributed it among his accomplices. Another account makes the body to have been enclosed in a chest and thrown into the Nile, which conveyed it to the sea, where it was cast on the coast of Phenicia, and the mutilation was there effected by Typhon.

Isis receiving the sad intelligence at Coptos, cut off her hair and put on mourning. Then raising an army, she vanquished the conspirators, and recovered the mangled remains of her husband, which she enclosed in images, and distributed to all the temples.

<sup>1</sup> These names are obviously inserted to favour the notion of all the Greek deities having come out of Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Similar is the legend of the Hindu Rama, who penetrated the Deccan or *south* country in his expedition to Ceylon, and collected an army of *monkeys*.

Being the author of agriculture, the ox was selected as his sacred animal; Isis being added to the deities at her death, the cow became her appropriate emblem. Anubis, who assisted in the search for Osiris, was made an attendant genius, and is represented with the head of a jackal, which the Greeks mistook for a dog. Typhon



was condemned to perpetual abomination, as the spirit of evil, in the shapes of an ass and a hippopotamus. Horus (or Harpocrates), the son of Osiris and Isis, succeeded to the throne, being the last god that reigned in Egypt. He also, according to some accounts, was prematurely cut to pieces.

Here was a myth, affording abundant scope for the piety, the patriotism, and the personal sympathies of the people. On the face of it, it described the deeds and sufferings of a primitive monarch, one of those whom the Gentiles loved to call "benefactors;"<sup>1</sup>—the boast of the nation, and a martyr in its cause. The popular ballads identified him with Menes the founder of the first monarchy, who was torn to pieces by a hippopotamus; they joined with affectionate solicitude in the sorrowful quest of the widowed queen, and were never wearied of the annual rejoicing to commemorate the day when Osiris was found.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii. 25.

Conceptions of this kind mingling with the elder mythologies naturally overpowered their weak and passionless abstractions. With the exception of Amun and Kneph, the gods of the first and second orders seem all to have passed into the Osirian group, and been supplanted by it. Osiris is figured as Phthah and as Khem, Isis as Neith, and Athor as Muth (the mother). They were called the "great god and goddess of Egypt;" their son Horus assumed the hawk's head of Ra, the sun. Nutpe is the mother both of Isis and Osiris. In effect, while the older forms were honoured with an occasional rite, Isis and Osiris were emphatically—to foreigners almost exclusively—the objects of Egyptian worship. Their rites exercised a powerful influence not only over the native mind, but on the robuster intellects of Greece and Rome.<sup>1</sup> The mysteries of Isis became a tale of wonder throughout the civilized world. They gained admittance, in spite of repeated prohibitions, into imperial Rome; the legions carried her shrine to distant Britain, and planted it outside their encampments in every quarter of the empire.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of this remarkable form of idolatry is not of course to be looked for in a literal acceptance of the legend that attended it. Such myths are usually framed to account for a worship already existing, the true origin of which is unknown or perverted. Some idea, however, of its *date* may be gathered from the birth of the five deities being fixed to the intercalary days, which were said to have been won from the moon

<sup>1</sup> See Juv. Sat. xii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> A temple to Serapis, the later form of Osiris, stood near the ancient Eboracum, on a site now covered by the York Railway Station. No *foreign* idols were admitted within the Roman encampments.



by Mercury for that purpose. This can only refer to the discovery of the true length of the year, which was originally reckoned at twelve months of thirty days each. In Egypt every day had its tutelary deity, consequently when five new days were added they required five additional gods. The date of this addition to Egyptian science is uncertain. Manetho attributes it to one of the shepherd kings, though Lepsius fancies he has discovered a reference "to the festival of the five redundant days" in the grotto of Beni Hassan, of the date of the Twelfth (or first Theban) Dynasty.

It is not improbable that the addition was coeval with that of five new stars, which the spirits of the deified mortals were supposed to inhabit. The Dog Star (Sothis) was certainly consecrated to Isis, and Osiris has many attributes in common with the sun. Sothis was called "the star of the beginning of the year," from its rising at the commencement of the inundation; and the heliacal rising of this star<sup>1</sup> on the first day of Thoth was the beginning of the Sothiac period. This conjunction was, perhaps, symbolized in the marriage of Osiris and Isis. Its first appearance on the monuments is said to be B.C. 1322, and shortly after Seth, who had previously been worshipped as a beneficent god, was deprived of his honours, effaced from the monuments, and stigmatized as Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. This evidence is, perhaps, too slight to justify the fixing on this date as the commencement of the Osirian theology, though some writers conceive it to have been long subsequent to the time of Moses.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The heliacal rising of a star is properly when it rises in conjunction with the sun; but as it is then of course invisible, it was reckoned from the time when it was first descried by the eye.

<sup>2</sup> Shuckford's Connection, book viii. and xi.

Others dismiss the historical character of the legend altogether. They observe that the rites connected with Osiris closely resembled those of Adonis at Byblos in Phenicia, being the same which were practised by the women seen in the prophet's vision "weeping for Tammuz."<sup>1</sup> They were part of the worship of Baal (the sun), who had a temple at Byblos, where, according to one account, Osiris was found. On this view he is the sun bound and imprisoned by Typhon, the power of darkness, during the winter season. It was in November that Osiris disappeared from his sorrowing consort. The voyage of Isis, whom Herodotus calls Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, in quest of his remains, was in December. In February he is found, and returns to fertilize the earth. Horus, born after his father's death, and lame in the feet, is the sun, weak but beginning to recover his power, at the winter solstice. Another allegory makes Osiris the Nile, whose waters recede at the same season with the sun; and Typhon the wind, which robs the fields of the precious moisture.

There was never any lack of such explanations among ancient idolaters; but the popular view was probably correct, when it insisted on the substantially historical reality of the objects of their adoration. In all probability Osiris was Menes, whom all tradition affirmed to be the first king of Egypt; and his son Athothis, or Thoth, was the Hermes who remained with Isis during her husband's absence. Osiris, whose name may be translated *Throne creator*, was also the first king, and Menes is sometimes written Mnevis, the appellation of the sacred bull of Heliopolis, who was undoubtedly a representative of Osiris. Hero-

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. viii. 14.

dotus mentions a remarkable ballad, sung among the Egyptians from the earliest days, called *Maneros*. It lamented the only son of the first king of Egypt, a pupil of the Muses, who died a minor. According to Plutarch, Maneros was the son of Isis and Osiris, and was accidentally killed by his mother; he was therefore the same as Horus, the child-god. Jablouski contends that Maneros means "son of Menes," which again identifies Menes with Osiris, and Athothis with Horus.<sup>1</sup> This appears the most probable explanation of the several traditions. Osiris and Horus were the last of the gods who reigned in Egypt; and Menes and Athothis were the first, and best remembered, of mortal kings. Menes is called a Thinite, and 'This was the city of Osiris; he was torn to pieces by a hippopotamus, and this creature was the emblem of Typhon, who cut Osiris in pieces. Lastly, the name Menes is translated by Eratosthenes, "eternal,"<sup>2</sup> an appellation which seems to point to Osiris, and possibly to Mizraim, the original founder of the Egyptian nation.

The special function of Osiris, as judge of the dead, was ascribed by many other nations to the patriarch of their race. "To be gathered to one's people," is one of the earliest forms of expression for death,<sup>3</sup> and it was not unnatural to invest the first ancestor with the prerogative of judging his children, and assigning

1 In like manner the Germans celebrated Tuisco, the genius of the earth, and his son *Man*, the parent stock of mankind. They invoked him as "Thoit! Mann! Woden! (*Baith* and *Herman*," ap. Doct. Del.)

2 That is to say, if we are to adopt what Bunsen calls the "happy emendations" of *aionios* for *dionios*, the word found in Syncellus; but *dionios* might be quite as happily emendated into *dionusos*, i.e. Osiris.

3 Gen. xxv. 8.

them their places in the paternal halls. The sentiment is traced, under a purer form of religion, in the established phrase of the Hebrews, whose hope was to "sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." In like manner Osiris may have been Mizraim, the founder of the Egyptian people;—the sun of their race, the parent of their rulers, and the judge of their disembodied spirits.

This last is the character most prominently assigned to Osiris on the monuments; it appealed with equal force to the philosopher and the peasant. He sits, like the Pluto of classic mythology, as president and lord of Amenthe, the invisible world. He is represented with the whip or flail, which formed part of the insignia of an Egyptian king, in one hand, and a hook in the other. His cap is of a peculiar shape, resembling the crown of Upper Egypt. His lower limbs are swathed, as one that is hidden in the grave, and he is attended by the sisters Isis and Nephthys (said to symbolize the past and the future), and the four genii his offspring. He is enthroned amid the forty-two assessors, who hold the last great inquest, and pronounces the irreversible sentence. Hence the common appellation of deceased persons in the epitaphs is "Osirian," equivalent to the Scriptural expression, "gathered to his fathers," and our own phrase, "of pious memory."

Such were the idols of Egypt! believed in their day to embody the profoundest conceptions of the human intellect, and visited by the master minds of the earth, in search of a knowledge that called itself divine. In the temples dedicated to their worship, and profusely sculptured with their images, Pythagoras and Plato sought to penetrate into the secret



depths of wisdom. There they meditated on the Great First Cause, and the mysteries of faith and worship that might be shrouded under the figures of Amun and Kneph. The primeval revelation of a Supreme Being never wholly perished out of the educated mind, even when overlaid with polytheism and idolatry. The great struggle of the inquiring soul was still to "find out God,"<sup>1</sup> but its searchings were in vain: reason could never repair the ravages of sin. "He made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies,"<sup>2</sup> till the light of Revelation collected again the Divine attributes into the Divine Person, and one who had searched all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and found it foolishness, was permitted to utter that great voice of inspiration, "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.*" Those simple but majestic words rose like another sun on the wanderings of the benighted intellect; they shine on the front of the elder revelation, like the parallel sentence, "*The Word was made flesh,*" in the New. The modern peasant receiving these two great principles for his creed, and approaching the throne of grace with the trustful prayer, "Our Father which is in heaven," inherits a secret beyond the reach of all the mysteries of antiquity. When Thales, who visited Egypt and studied its theology six hundred years before Christ, was asked, "What is God?" he demanded a day to consider of his answer. At the expiration of the time he asked for two days, then for four—eight—sixteen; each time doubling the period for his reply. Finally, he avowed, that the longer he thought of the question, the more impossible he found it rightly to conceive, or

<sup>1</sup> Job xi. 7.<sup>2</sup> Psa. xviii. 11.

adequately to declare, God. On which celebrated answer Tertullian remarks that "every Christian mechanic both knows God himself and can show him to others."<sup>1</sup> God is now manifested in CHRIST. He only is "the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person."<sup>2</sup> In knowing Christ and him crucified, the poorest believer and youngest child enjoys a possession far above all the boasted wisdom of Egypt. In our Sunday schools,

"Each little child in turn  
Some glorious truth proclaims,  
What sages would have died to learn,  
Now taught by village dames."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tert. Lib. Apolog., xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Year.



MUNTU OR MANDU

(*God of War*).

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE TEMPLE WORSHIP.

*Primæval Rite of Sacrifice—Temples originated in Egypt—Earliest style—Larger Temples—Dromos—Pylon—Pteron—Courts—Sanctuary—Sacred Object—Sculptures—Animals—Priesthood—Caste—Vestments—Wigs—Food—Gradations—Science—Astronomy—Length of the Year—Weeks—Divination—Sacrifices—Formerly Human—Vicarious—Propitiatory—Feast of Reconciliation—Animal Offerings—Music—Unbloody Gifts—Incense—Scriptural use—Worship of Animals—Bull—Cow—Cat—Mouse—Ibis—Hawk—Dog—Snakes—Great Serpent—Crocodile—Ichneumon—Lion—Hippopotamus—Ass—Goat—Sheep—Pig—Fish—Insects—Plants—Theory of Creature-worship—Pantheism—Transmigration—Panegyries—Female Deities—Sais—Right of access—Processions—Bari—Mourning for Osiris—Effects.*

No religion can exist long without some authorized form of expression;—without a sacred rite to utter the homage of the soul, and to assure it of acceptance with God. The earliest rite of this description was Sacrifice; and the apostle, in affirming that “by faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain,” plainly implies that a *lamb* was from the first the offering divinely required. Similar were the sacrifices of Noah and of Abraham. They would require an *altar* for the immolation of the victim, and its consumption by fire; but the altar was reared in the open air, and originally in any place which private devotion might dictate. It is obvious, however, that when many persons were to gather to common sacrifices, some special sites would be agreed upon, consecrated, perhaps, by the memory of a special mercy. Such would be the spot where Noah raised his first altar on the regenerated earth, in imitation of which, possibly, hills or “high places” were ever after the favourite resort for religious services. Such was

Mount Moriah, where Abraham, by God's command, initiated the typical sacrifices of the law; and such was the sanctuary at the foot of which he received the blessing of Melchizedek, and offered tithes of all that he possessed.<sup>1</sup>

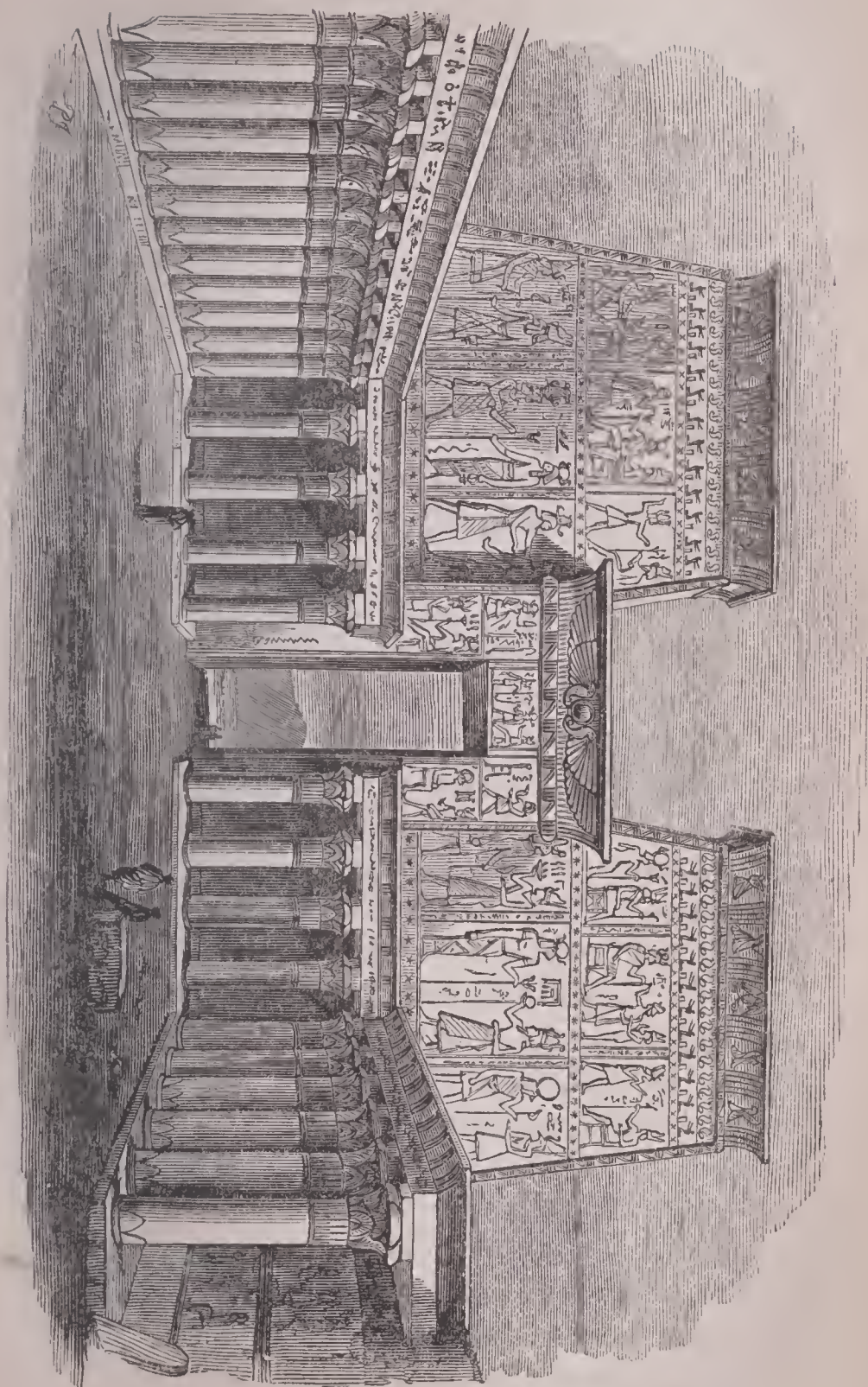
These places of worship were under the open sky, shadowed with trees it may be, as in the garden of Eden, but having no "temple made with hands," no roof to interpose between earth and heaven, no walls to circumscribe the sanctuary or limit the approach to it. It is probable that temples originated in Egypt, where there were no "high places," and where it was pretended that the gods were the first kings. The titles of majesty continued to be given to the idols, as those of divinity were to the sovereign. Temples and palaces were contiguous, and the same ideas prevailed in the construction of both. Several of the temples now in ruins were erected under the Ptolemies, but they were restorations of earlier edifices, dedicated to the same deities, which had been destroyed by the Persians. No trace of any temple, indeed, exists before the Eighteenth Dynasty, but Amun was worshipped at Thebes from an earlier period, and may perhaps have had a temple there.

The first buildings of this description were doubtless very different from the stately structures of later days. Egypt being destitute of timber, its temples were constructed of stone, and in a massive style, widely different from the tapering shafts and glowing tracery which our Gothic artists copied from the interlacing boughs of the forest. The only models furnished by nature on the banks of the Nile, were the square masses of rock which overhang the cataracts, and

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 17.



AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.



which not unfrequently exhibit the same outline as the earliest architecture. The walls were of prodigious thickness, perpendicular within, but on the outer face sloping in imitation of the pyramids. The sides of the doors and windows inclined in the same direction, all converging towards a distant apex. This is also the dominant feature of the obelisk, the successor of the pyramid.

Snow being unknown, the temple roofs were flat; a deep cornice, projecting to an eighth or ninth of the elevation, forming the chief architectural feature. Columns were used for its support, of great height and solidity, and sometimes slightly fluted; but they were too crowded to produce the grand interior effect of our fine cathedrals. Their summits were adorned with imitations of the lotus and papyrus flowers, in which some would trace the origin of the elegant Corinthian capital. The walls were occasionally faced with rows of Osiride pilasters, that is, colossal figures of Osiris, standing like the Greek Caryatides, but without any superincumbent weight. The scale and massiveness of the architecture imparted an air of severe but majestic repose, the effect of which was never equalled in any other country. The simplest forms were those called Typhonean, of which an example is seen in the island of Philæ; they were simply rectangular buildings surrounded by columns, with an entrance in one of the ends.

The larger temples are minutely described by Strabo the geographer, who visited Egypt about the opening of the Christian era, and his account is confirmed by the ruins still remaining. The approach was by a *dromos*, or avenue, lined by sphinxes or rams: obelisks or colossal figures in attitudes of profound repose, and



with grave, serious aspect, flanked the entrance to the avenue; it terminated in a lofty gateway (*pylon*), guarded on each side by a pyramidal wing or lodge (*pteron*) containing the rooms of the priests. These lodges were sometimes so large as to resemble truncated pyramids. Over the gateway was the *Horhat* or emblem of the good genius. Beneath this guardian symbol the worshipper passed into a spacious court surrounded by colonnades. On the opposite side another gateway led into a second court, where was a large hall, the roof of which was supported by a crowd of gigantic columns, forming the place of assembly for the worshippers at the great festivals. The sanctuary proper was separated by another court: its portico was usually a walled vestibule without colonnades, and it was divided into two or three apartments; in the last, behind a curtain, was the sacred object of all the devotion. Strabo notices that this was not an *idol*, that is, not a figure in human form, but commonly the representation of some animal, the emblem of the god, or even the living animal itself.

To increase the apparent distance and secrecy of the shrine, the doorways were diminished one after another, giving the effect of a lengthened perspective. The entire building inside and out, walls, pillars, ceiling, and doors, were profusely covered with hieroglyphics, reliefs, and paintings, often brightly coloured, and leaving scarcely a foot of space unoccupied. The sculptures do not project beyond the surface so as to break the outline, but were produced by cutting out the wall round the intended figure, which thus appears to rise from a hollow previously sunk: the colours were laid on the sunken part of the intaglio, to prevent their being too prominent. They consist

of numerous inscriptions, with figures of the gods, kings, battles, processions, and sacrifices. A separate smaller building held the birth-chamber of the infant divinity. Numbers of sacred animals were kept in the pastures or stables attached to the temple: at Memphis bulls fed for the purpose were exhibited, and encouraged to fight, in the avenue before the temple of Phthah.

The temples were under the care of a priesthood, divided into several orders, amply endowed, and, like the Hindu Brahmans, monopolizing the literature, philosophy, and science of the nation. They are generally believed to have formed a sacred caste; but as no corresponding separation has been traced in the places of sepulture, it may be presumed that caste was not in Egypt so rigid in its prohibitions as it afterwards became in India.<sup>1</sup>

The priests shared with the king and the nobles, or military order, the privilege of owning land. They were in constant attendance on the royal person, and daily exhorted him on the performance of his duties. The monarch was initiated into the priesthood at his coronation if not previously of that caste, and he is accordingly seen on the monuments performing the sacred functions. Garments of white linen and sandals of papyrus were the established dress of the priests. Neither wool nor leather was permitted to touch their flesh, and the woollen garment allowed to be worn over the linen tunic for warmth was laid

<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that caste could not have existed because the monuments record a general officer whose elder brother was both a priest and a high civil officer: but this exhibits a want of acquaintance with the commonest usages of India, at the present time: thousands of Brahmans are in the British service, civil and military, whose brothers are officiating priests.



aside on entering the temple. In performing the services they were attired in splendid vestments. The distinctive garb of a sacrificing priest appears to have been a leopard's skin. They bathed in cold water four times in the twenty-four hours, and shaved their heads and whole persons every second day. In place of the hair, *wigs* of capacious dimensions were worn,<sup>1</sup> which in the ceremonies were exchanged for cases or vizards, to imitate the heads of the sacred animals.

The same scrupulous attention to external cleanliness was extended to every article of food. Fish and beans were eschewed as unclean; the very sight of the latter was pollution to a priest. Mint, parsley, and many other herbs were proscribed. The flesh of swine, sheep, and cows was forbidden, but *ox* beef and geese were sanctioned and formed their principal sustenance. Polygamy, though permitted to the people, was prohibited to the sacred orders.

There were several gradations, from the pontiff or high priest down to the shrine-bearers and wardens, who were accounted of the sacred caste, without being bound to equal strictness with the superior ranks. The highest orders were four, *prophets*, *sacristis*, *scribes*, and *horologists*. The first were the presiding ministers in every temple, and had charge of the revenue and the sacrifices. They were to commit to memory all that concerned the gods, the laws, and the education and

<sup>1</sup> The wigs were precisely of the same shape as those used by our own legal and ecclesiastical dignitaries. They were worn by persons of rank, both male and female, and are even seen on the images of the gods. In the Egyptian gallery of the British Museum may be seen the figures of lords and ladies in *full bottoms* exactly like our judges of assize; while a goddess bears upon her head a genuine *cauliflower*, of which the last known specimen passed away with the late venerated Archbishop of Canterbury.

discipline of the priesthood. The sacrists (*stolistæ*) had charge of the vestments,<sup>1</sup> with the books which prescribed the sealing of the victims. The scribes (*grammateis*) studied the hieroglyphics and mathematics, and regulated the vessels and furniture of the temple. The fourth order drew out horoscopes, and professed the four books relating to astronomy.

The priests were the sole depositories of Egyptian science, which, notwithstanding its repute among the nations of antiquity, seems never to have been based on genuine physical or mathematical proof. Though great observers of remarkable phenomena, their object was to predict their recurrence, rather than to reason on their causes or effects. Their superiority seems to have consisted more in the long induction of facts preserved in their registers, than in the power of applying them to further discoveries. It is true that Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato were believed to have acquired their knowledge of mathematics in Egypt; but it may be doubted whether those celebrated Greeks were indebted to the Egyptian priests for more than propositions: the demonstrations were probably due to their own powers of reason.<sup>2</sup> Thales, for example, is said to have taught the Egyptians to measure the elevation of the Pyramids by the simple expedient of erecting a stick at the extremity of their shadows. He inferred the height of the pyramid from the length of its shadow by observing the ratio between the stick and its shadow.

The science most advanced in Egypt has always been said to be astronomy. The cloudless skies and wide horizon of the Delta presented advantages for observations of the heavenly bodies, which a nume-

<sup>1</sup> See 2 Kings x. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick, i. 327.

rous and educated priesthood could hardly fail to improve. Diodorus says they claimed to have taught astronomy to the Babylonians themselves; and the Greeks universally allowed their own obligations to Egypt in this respect. Thales, who first corrected their calendar from 360 to 365 days, was supposed to have acquired his knowledge in Egypt, where the five additional days appear to be as old as the Osirian legend. The true length of the solar year is  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days; and this secret also, according to Strabo, was communicated to the Greeks from the Egyptians, yet the civil year was always reckoned at 360 days. The priests are said to have reconciled their chronology with the true one by means of a cycle called the Sothiac period, which was regulated by the heliacal rising of the Dog Star (*Sothis*) on the first of Thoth, the new-year's-day. This being accurately observed, was found to recur in 1461 years of 360 days, equivalent to 1460 true solar years. This cycle is alleged to be noted on the astronomical monument in the Ramesseion,<sup>1</sup> proving its use as early as 1322 B.C.

On the other hand, it is certain that none of the monuments exhibit a representation of any instrument for observing the heavens, without which no very great progress in astronomy could be made. Sir George Lewis has shown that the true length of the year was known to the Greeks before the time that Strabo supposed them to learn the secret from the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> The observations of the latter, he conceived, were rude and imperfect;—sufficient to fix the equinoxes, the solstices, the heliacal risings of particular stars, and to calculate eclipses; but he cannot suppose “they ever rose to the conception of astronomy

<sup>1</sup> See p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Astronomy, p. 279.



as a science, or treated it with geometrical methods." Their learning, in short, was that of the astrologer: they were the authors of horoscopes and divination by the stars, but no Egyptian ever gained a name in science as an astronomer. As for the Sothiac cycle, it was matter of arithmetic, not astronomy. As soon as it was known that the solar year exceeded the civil by a quarter of a day, it was obvious that in four times the number of the days the excess would amount to an entire year: in other words, that 1461 ( $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ ) common years would be only 1460 true solar years. The question is when this discovery was made, and of that there is no evidence save the very doubtful interpretation of the zodiac in the Ramesseion. Before the hieroglyphic sign can be admitted to denote this cycle it must be shown that the cycle itself was in existence. It is first mentioned by Censorinus, A.D. 238, who remarks that that year was the 100th of the Canicular (or Sothiac) period; the period therefore commenced A.D. 139; but the language implies that the cycle was founded simply on arithmetical computation, and there is no evidence whatever that it was in use 1460 years before.

The practice of naming the days after the "seven stars," *i. e.*, the sun, moon, and five planets, appears to have had its origin in Egypt. It implies the observance of a week of seven days, which, having no foundation in natural science, is plainly a relic of primæval revelation. Neither among the heavenly bodies, nor in any of the processes or productions of nature, is the number *seven* marked out for imitation. That it is everywhere held in reverence as a mystic number and the sign of perfection, results



from its having been sanctified by the Creator's rest, and the consequent institution of the Sabbath day. Weeks are mentioned, in company with months, in some of the oldest hieroglyphics; and, curiously enough, they are called *uk*, which may be the origin of our own Anglo-Saxon word.



This division of time may have given rise to the fable of Saturn being the progenitor of Osiris, and at once the father and the youngest of the gods. The seventh day, which is Saturn's, precedes and might be called the parent of the sun's day (Osiris); again, it is the last, and so the youngest, of the days to which the names of the gods were given.

Another Egyptian rite was divination. The prophets officiated at the sacrifices, and divined (as afterwards among the Greeks and Romans) from an examination of the entrails. They also proposed questions to the oracles, and reported the reply. The most celebrated oracles in Egypt, according to Herodotus, were those of Hercules at Canopus, Apollo at Apollinopolis (Edfu), Minerva at Sais, Diana at Bubastis, Mars at Papremis, Jupiter at Thebes and Ammonium, and above all of Latona in the city of Buto.<sup>1</sup>

. Dreams, too, were of great authority in Egypt, and the "magicians and wise men"<sup>2</sup> who interpreted them were doubtless scribes and horologists of the priestly orders. The divining cups alluded to in Gen. xliv. 15 have not been traced on the Egyptian monuments, but they are found among the relics of the Assyrians, who copied from Egypt. They were of silver and

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xli. 8. The Hebrew word rendered "magician" primarily means a "writer."

other metals, engraved with mystic signs and figures. By these and other arts the Egyptian priests acquired such a reputation for hidden lore, that Africa has been always accounted the land of magic; and the vagrants who still traverse Europe under a name which some have derived from Egypt (*gipseys*), practise on the credulity of the ignorant what are still called the "*black arts*."

The temple services included the three great rites of all ancient religion—*sacrifice*, *libations*, and *incense*. Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by Herodotus, it is admitted by Manetho, who could have no desire to calumniate his people, that human sacrifices were in use till abolished by Amasis, who substituted a waxen image. The victims were foreigners, and chiefly Greeks, or other fair-haired nations, whom the Egyptians called *red* men. Red was the colour of Typhon the evil spirit, whence these sacrifices were termed Typhonean. It was said that the unfortunate beings were burned alive, and their ashes scattered to the winds. This barbarous rite rendered the shores of Egypt infamous to European voyagers. No direct traces of these burnt-offerings have been discovered on the monuments, but they often exhibit the kings devoting captives to the gods, and threatening them with a sword as if about to take their lives. This is usually explained as a symbolic action, denoting the condemnation of the prisoners to build the temples of the divinity, not to expire on his altars. General Howard Vyse, however, found in a tomb at Bab-el Melook unquestionable proofs of actual immolation by beheading. The decapitated trunks were represented lying before a staff, bearing the head of a jackal (the emblem of Anubis, one of the angels of

death); and in another place is a row of men on their knees, each held down by a *priestess*, while the blood is spouting from an incision on the crown of the head into a vessel placed in front.<sup>1</sup> The stamp or seal, also, has been found with which the victims were marked for sacrifice; it represents three men bound and kneeling, beneath the jackal.

Notwithstanding the fables of a golden age, when Heaven was propitiated with flowers and fruits, and blood was not permitted to stain the sacred rites, the voice of every ancient religion retains the witness of the Divine law, that "without shedding of blood is no remission."<sup>2</sup> The penalty, however, was generally transferred to an innocent substitute. In the first recorded instance it was a firstling of the flock. "Noah offered of every clean beast and of every clean fowl."<sup>3</sup> In the case of Isaac, a ram was the substitute,<sup>4</sup> which it may be concluded was then the usual sacrifice. Finally, under the law a bullock was appointed as the daily "sin-offering for atonement."<sup>5</sup> Similar sacrifices were undoubtedly in use among other nations; for Balaam erected seven altars, and "offered on every altar a bullock and a ram."<sup>6</sup>

Such a propitiatory sacrifice was uniformly observed among the many diversities of Egyptian worship.<sup>7</sup> The victim having been examined and sealed by the priest as clean, was led to the altar, on which a fire was kindled, and a libation of wine poured out. The death-blow was then given, after which, the head being cut off, a prayer was repeated over it, "that if any evil impended over the worshippers of their

<sup>1</sup> Vyse, i. 88.    <sup>2</sup> Heb. ix. 22.    <sup>3</sup> Gen. viii. 20.    <sup>4</sup> Gen. xxii. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Exod. xxix. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Numb. xxiii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ii. 2.

country, it might be diverted upon that head.”<sup>1</sup> The head thus laden with the iniquity of the people, was thrown into the Nile, or disposed of to strangers. Herodotus says that these ceremonies concerning the head and the libation were uniformly practised by all Egyptians, and that on this account nothing would induce a native to eat the head of any creature that had breathed.

The carcass of the victim was flayed, and some portions being consumed on the altar, the remainder was eaten by the priests and people. This feast upon the sacrifice was considered equivalent to eating with the god, the most binding proof of reconciliation. For the same reason the Jewish altar was called the table of the Lord;<sup>2</sup> and the apostle terms the idolatrous sacrifices “a partaking of the table of devils.”<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian altars were shaped like tables on legs, and the offerings are represented disposed upon them as for a feast.

According to Herodotus, the bull, young or old, was the victim principally offered at Memphis; *cows* were never sacrificed, as being sacred to Isis. Sheep were also offered; but at Thebes, this animal being sacred to Amun, goats were substituted, except on the annual feast, when a ram was sacrificed. At Mendes, and throughout the adjacent plain, the goat was spared, as being sacred to Pan, and sheep were usually immolated.

The modes of burning the victims varied according to the nature of the worship. At the chief festival of Isis, the body, after the separation of the neck and

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lev. xvi. 21; Deut. xxi. 1—9.

<sup>2</sup> Mal. i. 7.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. x. 21.



limbs, was filled with consecrated cakes, honey, raisins, and figs, with sweet perfumes, and burnt with plenty of oil. This sacrifice was preceded by a fast; and during the burning the worshippers beat their breasts, with loud lamentations. A similar mourning is mentioned for the ram at the anniversary of Amun. When the burnt-offering was consumed, the reserved portions were feasted upon. The sacrifices included several kinds of *birds*, as under the Mosaic law, though differing from the usages of Greece and Rome.

Strabo remarks that no music was used in the sacrifice to Osiris at Abydos; this may have been peculiar to that service, which partook of the character of a funeral, since a variety of musical instruments are found on the monuments, including guitars with three strings, lyres, harps (with as many as twenty strings), flutes, single, double, and oblique, cymbals, tambourines, drums, trumpets, and castanettes. The inscriptions speak of the "minstrels of the Hall of Amun;" and a celebrated picture in the tomb of Rameses III. at Thebes, exhibits a couple of priests with their shaved heads playing on magnificent harps before two funereal deities. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the festive rites were accompanied by music, as was the case in the temple at Jerusalem, where the Levites, "arrayed in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets," and "the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord."<sup>1</sup> According to the Rabbins, the mighty chorus was heard as far as Jericho.

Besides animal sacrifices, a great variety of un-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. v. 12, 13.

bloody offerings were comprehended in the Egyptian ritual. The lotus, papyrus, onion, and many other vegetables; fruits, cakes, milk, and wine; in fact, all the productions of the soil, were among the gifts to the gods. Onions are especially prominent in the representations on the monuments, and the priests who present them are attired in the leopard's skin. The idols were also anointed with oil and other unguents, while sweet incense was burnt before them.

The latter usage, which also entered largely into the Levitical ritual, probably originated with the Egyptians, who were famous for the variety and fragrance of their perfumes. A great variety of gums was obtained from the neighbouring countries, and the compounding of them was assigned to a particular functionary, who had an apartment for the purpose in every temple. Resin was burnt to the sun at his rising, myrrh at noon, and a mixture called *kuphi*, composed of sixteen ingredients, at sunset.<sup>1</sup> In like manner the Mosaic law appointed "a holy anointing oil," or ointment compounded "after the art of the apothecary," for the consecration of the ark and the priests, and a "most holy perfume" was burnt in the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

According to Maimonides, the intention of incense was to counteract the disagreeable odour arising from the slaughtered animals and their burning flesh; but the importance attached to it in Holy Scripture indicates a much higher signification. To burn incense was one of the chief privileges of the priestly office;<sup>3</sup> it was performed every morning and evening on the golden altar in the outer sanctuary,<sup>4</sup> and with

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Dict. Bib. p. 866.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxx. 23, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Numb. xvi. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xxx. 7, 8; Luke i. 10.

great solemnity by the high priest in the most holy place, when he carried the blood within the veil on the annual day of atonement.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul alludes to this rite when he terms the charity of the Philippians "an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God;"<sup>2</sup> and in the visions of St. John there are "golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints."<sup>3</sup> Now, neither the works nor the prayers of men are properly well pleasing to God; they are accepted only for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ. The incense, therefore, was the type of Christ's righteousness, as the blood of his atoning death. These constitute the value of his intercession as the true High Priest in the holy place not made with hands:<sup>4</sup> when appropriated by faith, they sanctify the imperfect services of his disciples, and enable "their prayers and their alms to come up for a memorial before God."<sup>5</sup> This was part of that spiritual teaching which enabled the "Israelite indeed" to say, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared."<sup>6</sup> The types of the law were illumined by the spirit of prophecy; and to the true children of Abraham it was a "schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ," that they might be justified by faith.<sup>7</sup>

It is not improbable that the Egyptians, also, were originally instructed in somewhat of this mystery; but as they departed from God in their hearts, the light of their sacrifices decayed, while the forms became

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xvi. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. v. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. iv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. ix. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Acts x. 4. In Rev. v. 8 the prayers of the saints are not the *odours*, but the *vials* into which the odours are poured. So in Luke i. 10, the incense is not prayer, but that mediation in the sanctuary which sanctified the prayer of the congregation without.

<sup>6</sup> Heb. x. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Gal. iii. 24.



more varied and imposing. In permitting some of these to be transferred to his own worship, God was pleased to cleanse them from their impurity, and restore to them the reflection of the "true Light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world."<sup>1</sup>

The most extraordinary and degrading example of spiritual darkness which the world has ever known, was the peculiar superstition which in Egypt changed the victim into a god, and literally "worshipped the creature more than the Creator." The Greeks and Romans accounted certain animals sacred to particular deities, and kept herds of sacred cattle in the pastures attached to their temples; but these were the property, not the substitutes, of the gods. The Egyptians, on the contrary, approached the dumb animals with every mark of adoration, and even installed them in the sanctuary as deities. The surprise and contempt with which strangers regarded this irrational superstition is well expressed by Clement of Alexandria:<sup>2</sup> "Among the Egyptians the temples are surrounded with groves and consecrated pastures; they are furnished with propylæa, and their courts are encircled with an infinite number of columns; their walls glitter with foreign marbles and paintings of the highest art; the *naos* is resplendent with gold and silver and electrum, and variegated stones from India and Ethiopia; the *adytum* is veiled by a curtain wrought with gold. But if you pass beyond into the remotest part of the enclosure, hastening to behold something yet more excellent, and seek for the image which dwells in the temple, a *pastophorus*, or some one else of those who minister in sacred things, with a pompous air singing

<sup>1</sup> John i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick, ii. 3.



a pæan in the Egyptian tongue, draws aside a small portion of the curtain, as if about to show us the god, and makes us burst into a loud laugh. For no god is found within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent sprung from the soil, or some such brute animal: the Egyptian deity appears a beast rolling himself on a purple coverlet." "The temples of Egypt," says Diodorus, "are most beautiful; but if you seek within, you find an ape or ibis, a goat or a cat." These creatures were provided with the choicest food; cakes of fine flour, steeped in milk or smeared with honey, were prepared for some; the flesh of geese, roasted or boiled, and that of birds and fish uncooked, were given for the carnivorous class. They were placed in warm baths, and anointed with costly perfumes, and everything was supplied to them which could gratify their appetites. The custody of the sacred animals was an honourable employment, descending from father to son; the persons who enjoyed it were distinguished by a peculiar emblem, and received the salutations of the people as they passed.

The animals were endowed with fixed revenues, besides the vows and oblations made to them by private persons. They were of various grades, some being actually worshipped as deities, others respected only as their emblems; some again were venerated throughout Egypt, others only in particular nomes or districts. Of the first class were the sacred bulls of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Basis. At the former place a magnificent hall, with a court surrounded by pillars, was appropriated to the bull *Apis* (a name signifying "genius"), which was believed to contain the soul of Osiris. The beast was black, with a white spot on the forehead, the figure of an eagle or a vulture on the

back, and a scarabeus<sup>1</sup> under the tongue. The conjunction of these marks pointed out the abode of the god, and the animal was actually worshipped with divine honours. For some reason, however, he was not allowed to live more than twenty-five years; at the end of that time the priests secretly drowned him, and after embalming the body honoured it with a stately funeral. At Abousir are eight chambers full of these extraordinary mummies.

A considerable interval often elapsed before a successor with the requisite tokens could be found; all this time the priests and people kept a general mourning for the absence of the "great god." When a calf was found properly marked, his *epiphaneia* was proclaimed, and the creature was conducted in solemn procession to the temple.

At Heliopolis the bull was called Mnevis, and by some considered as the father of Apis. Its colour on the monuments is white, though Plutarch states the animal to have been black. A black bull was also worshipped at Hermonthis, under the name of Basis or Bash.

The veneration attaching to these animals extended to the rest of their species. If not actually worshipped, all were regarded, as in modern India, with a religious respect. This did not prevent the use of oxen for agricultural purpose, nor their flesh from being eaten, either among the Egyptians or the primitive Hindus. The *cow*, however, was strictly forbidden, as sacred to Isis and Athor. In the temple of the latter deity a cow was installed, as the bull was at Memphis; she was selected in like manner for certain mystical marks, and honoured with oblations and worship.

1 The form of the sacred beetle.

The cat was worshipped at Bubastis, as sacred to Pasht; the shrew-mouse to Latona at Buto; the cynocephalus (ape) to Chons; the ibis to Thoth; the hawk at Heliopolis; and the dog at Cynopolis. These animals all enjoyed universal respect throughout Egypt. No native would on any account be guilty of their death; if one was found dead, the finder called all to witness he had not killed it; and if even by accident one of these sacred creatures were slain, the infuriated populace instantly retaliated on the offender. Moses alludes to this fanaticism, when he says, "Shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?"<sup>1</sup> The bodies of those which died were embalmed, and laid up in their several temples, where they are still found in catacombs, extending several miles in length. The dog is found buried in every town; whence Sir G. Wilkinson thinks that, though everywhere sacred, it was not worshipped in any particular temple. The hawk was sacred to the sun, to Athor, and to several divinities of the dead. It was specially worshipped at Heliopolis, at Philæ, where it was said to be consecrated to Osiris, and at two "cities of the hawk," on the west bank of the Nile.<sup>2</sup> Its mummies are found in great numbers at Thebes; and so high was the consideration bestowed upon this bird, that hawks which died with the army in foreign countries were brought back to Egypt to be buried!

The ibis was sacred to Thoth, who was said to have eluded Typho in its shape. It received divine honours at Hermopolis, the city of Thoth, and at its own city, Ibeum, twenty-four miles northward. It was famed for destroying the winged serpents flying

<sup>1</sup> Exod. viii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Hieraconpolis and Hieracon.

from the Arabian and Libyan deserts into Egypt. Herodotus says he saw the bones and spines of large numbers of snakes lying in a gorge near Buto, where the ibises had met and destroyed them.<sup>1</sup> The ibis was a bird of the curlew kind, having a curved beak, with legs like a crane. There were two varieties; a larger one with black plumage, and a smaller, measuring about twelve inches long, with a white body and black pinions and tail. It is the latter which is found embalmed. The skin of a snake was discovered in the intestines of one of these birds by Cuvier, so that it certainly preyed on the serpent, though the serpent was not winged. The ibis is now rarely seen in Egypt, but is said to pay occasional visits to the Lake Menzaleh.

Another creature, sacred throughout Egypt, was the *asp* called Thermuthis: it was a species of *cobra di capello*, very deadly yet accounted the emblem of Kneph, and worshipped in many temples. Being easily tamed it was kept in gardens and private houses, as a kind of guardian genius. In the same capacity, perhaps, it was selected as a symbol of royalty, and thence called the *uræus* and *basilisk*. The statues of Isis and other goddesses were crowned with it as with a diadem. The kings also wore a crown of asps; which was probably an ornament of jewels rather than the living reptile. A single asp of the same kind was usually attached to the front of the royal head-dress; whence the story of Cleopatra destroying herself by one of these snakes has been thought to be derived. The *cerastes*, or horned snake, a small venomous reptile still common in Upper Egypt, is said to have been also sacred to Kneph, and was

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 75.



buried in his temple. The harmless house-snake was looked upon with universal respect as an emblem of eternity, an honour enjoyed by the tribe in general. The "great serpent," however, was the type of the evil being, under the name of Apophis the giant.

Many animals were venerated in some parts and execrated in others. The crocodile enjoyed divine honours at Coptos, Ombos, and Atribis, called also Crocodilopolis, in the Thebaid. Another city of Crocodiles in Lower Egypt, afterwards called Arsinoe, was the capital of the nome now termed the Faioom. At this place Strabo saw one of these monsters tame. It was fed with cakes, roast meat, and wine, which it accepted from the hands of the priests. They called it *Souchos*, or *Suchus*, a name supposed to refer to the god Sevek, whose representative it was. A story was here told of an ancient king, who, being driven into the lake by his own dogs while hunting, was taken up by a crocodile and landed safe on the other side. In memory of this escape he built the city of Crocodiles, and ordained divine honours to his deliverer. He also erected a tomb, a pyramid, and the labyrinth adjoining.<sup>1</sup> In other towns, as Tentyris, Apollinopolis, Heracleopolis, and the island of Elephantine, the crocodile was execrated as the type of the evil one; and, though far from delicate food, it was eaten in defiance and contempt of the enemy. On a particular day there was a grand crocodile hunt in one of these districts, when the bodies of as many as could be killed were cast before the temple in triumph. By some the crocodile was regarded as an emblem of the sun, the reason for which appears to be that, like the hawk among birds, it is the most quick-sighted of quadrupeds.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 77.

At Heracleopolis, the district adjoining that of Arsinoe, the hatred of the crocodile found expression in the worship of its enemy the *ichneumon*. It is no longer believed that this active little creature crept down the monster's throat as it lay asleep on the banks, and gnawed its way out from the interior; but it was perhaps still more destructive to the species by preying on its eggs. The conflicts were so fierce between the respective partisans of these deities, that they are said to have not only killed, but devoured their opponents.

The lion, the emblem of more than one deity, was held in especial honour at Leontopolis. As the king of beasts, he was a symbol of force, whether deified in the sun, in Hercules, Minerva, or Vulcan. The lion, too, was often the type of a king. His body joined to a human face made the sphinx, the symbol of intellect united with strength. As the Nile began to rise when the sun was in the constellation Leo, the waterspouts and fountains were adorned with lions' heads;—a custom which has passed into universal art. The lion was not indigenous in Egypt, and no mummies of it have been found.

The hippopotamus was sacred to Mars, and worshipped at Papremis, a city in the Delta. It seems, therefore, to have once inhabited the Egyptian Nile, though it is now restricted to Ethiopia. It was the type of Typho, of "ingratitude," and of "impudence;" yet its mummies were preserved at Thebes, one of which is in the British Museum.

The ass, too, was regarded as an emblem of Typho, who was said to have escaped on one from the battle. As such it was held in general contempt.

The goat received divine honours in the Mendesian nome, and the sheep in the Thebaid. The inhabitants

of each partook freely of the sacred animal of the other. The pig was everywhere proscribed, not from veneration, but horror: it was regarded as the abode of unclean souls; but once a year it was sacrificed to the moon.

The creature-worship comprehended the finny tribe no less than quadrupeds and reptiles. The most noted were the *oxyrhinchus*, or sharp-nosed fish, worshipped at a city called by its name; the *phagrus*, or eel; and the *lepidotus*, a kind of salmon or perch. There was also the *lato*, which gave its name to Latopolis, now called Esneh. Several kinds of fish have been found embalmed in the tombs, but their forms are not easily distinguished, and antiquarians are not agreed upon their identity.

Even insects were not beneath the honours of this comprehensive idolatry. The *beetle*, in particular, was sacred to several deities, and through a great portion of Egypt was worshipped as one of the gods of the country.<sup>1</sup> It was an emblem both of the *sun* and of the *world* (creation), and accordingly received the highest honours at Heliopolis and Memphis, where Ra and Phthah were the chief deities. It is found embalmed, too, at Thebes, a city so truly the mother of Egyptian abominations, that birds, rats, shrew-mice, toads, snakes, beetles, and flies, have been found there embalmed in one tomb.<sup>2</sup> The sacred beetle was a favourite figure in rings, necklaces, and other trinkets of all sizes and qualities, which are found in great numbers throughout Egypt. By some it is supposed to have furnished the idea of the oval ring enclosing the royal names, as though they were engraved on the belly of a scarabeus. A figure of the scarabeus (generally

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxx., c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, c. 14, ii. 100.

winged) is found in the best mummies, and it is often engraved with a prayer, or the name of the deceased.

The Egyptians were derided by other idolaters for extending their worship to trees and plants. Pliny says they treated garlic and onions as gods, and Juvenal makes merry with their "garden-born deities."<sup>1</sup> This notion appears to have sprung from the frequency with which these vegetables appear among the offerings on the altars. Being the common food of the people, they were naturally offered to the manes of their ancestors; but nothing appears on the monuments to indicate that any sanctity was attached to them.

There is little certainty in the theories which have been hazarded to account for this extraordinary mass of creature-worship. Cicero thought that the Egyptians honoured those animals that were most useful to mankind; but though this is true of some, others were destructive or contemptible, while the horse, which next to the ox is the most valuable, had no religious reverence. The priests pretended that the gods had assumed the forms of these animals in order to escape from their enemies; others said that they had been selected for the standards of the armies in ancient times, and so received the honour of the victories won under their auspices. Another legend ran that one of the kings had instituted a different worship in the several nomes, in order to prevent a common union against the throne. The true reason is doubtless to be sought in the pantheistic philosophy of the Ancient Egyptians. Their idea of God was not of a Person (as revealed in the primitive religion), but of a Spirit universally diffused throughout nature, and manifested under an infinite variety of forms. Hence the confusion

<sup>1</sup> Sat. xv. 10.



and continual intermixture of the deities, representing, as we have seen, not distinct persons, but the attributes which necessarily intermingle in the Divine nature.

The souls of men were believed to be emanations from the Divine Spirit, entangled for a while in material forms, but eventually to be again absorbed like drops in the ocean from which they were taken. Hence these also were invested with but a vague and shadowy personality. They were considered not as distinct beings, but as parts of the universal whole.

From the spirit of a man to that of a beast was, to such philosophers, no very difficult transition. Both were parts of nature, and no essential distinction was recognised between them. The soul of a man might pass into the body of an animal, and again be exalted to a second birth as a human being. Death was not considered as the destruction of the individual, but as a shifting of a wandering particle's temporary sojourn. Men, animals, and even inanimate things, were proclaimed to be parts of one nature, the totality of which is God. Any one might be the special manifestation of his presence; and almost any consideration, whether of utility, allegory, or superstition, was permitted to determine the place. The adoration, it was pretended, was not to the creature, but to the god who inhabited it. Still the creature acquired a sanctity from the divinity, which diffused itself, in a lower degree, through all its species.

Such is the Brahman philosophy at this day; and somewhat like it, probably, lay at the foundation of the animal-worship of the Egyptians. Hence, when Moses, who had been "instead of God"<sup>1</sup> to Aaron the priest, had disappeared, and they "wot not what was become

<sup>1</sup> Exod. iv. 16.

of him," the Israelites called on Aaron to "make them gods which should go before them." The image with which he was most familiar was Mnevis, the sacred bull of Heliopolis, and after its likeness, probably, the golden calf was fashioned. It is observable, however, that Aaron did not propose this idol as *another God*, but as a new *manifestation* of the *Elohim* which brought them up from the land of Egypt. In the spirit of the Egyptian philosophy he might have expected that the spirit previously abiding in Moses would migrate into this image; accordingly he built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast unto Jehovah.<sup>1</sup> These notions, acquired in Egypt, may explain, what would otherwise appear an impossible absurdity, that men "professing themselves wise" should pay divine honours to a fellow-mortal, and even a brute beast.

It is still, however, impossible to account for the peculiar selections, and the capricious variety, of the Egyptian animal-worship. It seems to partake of the equally capricious *fetichism* which is still common among the negro tribes, and was perhaps always characteristic of the children of Ham.

An important ceremony, which the classical writers declare to be of Egyptian origin, was the assembling all the nation at certain festivals to a particular temple. These assemblies were called *panegyries*, and the great pillared halls appear to have been constructed for their reception. From these national concourses the Greeks derived their Pythian and Olympian Games. Three times in the year the Jews, also, were commanded to appear before the Lord, but always at Jerusalem, in striking contrast to the temple gatherings of Egypt, which were held at various places on the feasts of the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxxii. 1—5.

several gods. The most popular were the festivals of Artemis at Bubastis (the Diana of the Ephesians),<sup>1</sup> and of Isis at Busiris, in the middle of the Delta. The worship of these female divinities was attended (as in Greece and Rome) with more than ordinary license. Women were then released from their seclusion. Crowds of both sexes navigated the Nile, with music and dancing, to the place of concourse, summoning the inhabitants of every place which they passed to come out and join in the festivity. As many as 700,000 persons are said to have been thus congregated at the greater panegyries. The revels were prolonged throughout the night, and were attended with that "excess of riot" which usually disgraced the heathen ceremonies, and which is too faithfully reproduced in the Hindoo temples of Siva at this day.

The feast of Isis Neith, in the roofless temple of Sais, was celebrated with a general illumination throughout Egypt. The temple was lighted up with great vessels of oil and salt, having floating wicks, and every city and house hung out its lamps. This temple was further famous for the mysteries of Osiris, a dramatic representation of the suffering, dying, and resuscitated god. The voyage of Isis in quest of his remains was performed on a lake within a sacred enclosure. Like the mysteries of Eleusis and many other rites of heathenism, these observances were guarded by a secrecy which it would be unprofitable to penetrate. We leave them to the shelter of that darkness under the shades of which they were appropriately enacted.

An act of worship frequently represented on the monuments, consisted of *running in* to the presence of the deity with an offering of incense. The offerer is, of

<sup>1</sup> Acts xix. 28.

course, a priest, or the king who was in effect the chief priest: the peculiarity lies in the evident *haste* of his approach;—a circumstance strangely contrasting with the ceremonious preparations elsewhere required for holy employments. It seems to claim a freedom of access, which was emphatically denied to sinners in the pattern shown to Moses in the mount. The Egyptian priests exercised the further privilege of introducing others to the presence of the deity, a ceremony often represented on the monuments. In some cases a king is conducted by a god, or by a priest wearing the insignia of a god. Herodotus takes notice of these “introductions” (*προσαγωγαί*) as a thing first invented by the Egyptians, and imitated from them by the Greeks. The Mosaic law assumed a severer and a juster aspect. “Into the second,” or inner division of the sanctuary containing the mercy seat, “went the high priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people: the Holy Ghost thus signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest.”<sup>1</sup> It was not till the outer tabernacle had been removed and the veil rent in twain, for the new and living way opened through the death of Christ, that Jew and Gentile, made one new man by the throwing down the middle wall of partition between them, obtained access (*προσαγωγήν*) by one Spirit to the Father.<sup>2</sup> It is only He who is both God and man who can truly present his people as kings and priests unto God and his Father.<sup>3</sup>

*Processions* were another important part of the

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ix. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Matt. xxvii. 51; Heb. x. 20; Eph. ii. 14, 15, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. i. 6.



Egyptian ritual, and copied from it by other idolaters. They probably originated in the custom of the king showing himself to his subjects on state occasions, or in his triumphal marches to and from the seat of war. The idols and consecrated animals were led out in like manner from their secret shrines, and paraded amidst the shouts of admiring multitudes. The sacred Nile, of course, was the principal route of the procession, and a boat formed the triumphant vehicle, just as images are still carried in similar pomp on the waters of the Ganges. This boat, in fact, was so generally adopted, that it became the regular conveyance, even when the procession was by land. The idols are represented seated in a crescent-shaped boat, the name of which, as we learn from Herodotus, was *bari*. It was highly carved, and adorned at each end with the symbol of the god.<sup>1</sup> At other times they are standing on a platform carried by poles on the shoulders of the priests.<sup>2</sup> In this manner they were transported across the Nile, or borne round the precincts of the temple with incense burning before them, sacrifices and offerings being made at every halt. The spacious courts, their lofty colonnades, and the avenues lined with sphinxes, afforded an ample stage for this exhibition. The numerous priests, marshalled in their several orders, were distinguished by different vestments, by symbolical head-dresses, and by the other insignia of the gods.

The scene was varied by processions of woe as well as of joy. Part of the rites of Osiris consisted in mourning processions, continued for four days together

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Harcourt conceives the *bari* to be undoubtedly an emblem of Noah's ark.—*Doctr. Del.*

<sup>2</sup> See Isa. xlv. 7; Jer. x. 5.

in the month of October. The cow of Isis was veiled in black, and the attendants beat their breasts with loud lamentations. In the spring the procession descended to the sea, where the priests, having made an image of the clay in the shape of the new moon, exclaimed that "Osiris was found," and then returned up the river with every demonstration of joy. There was a third grand procession, called *Niloa*, which took place at the summer solstice, when the Nile began to rise, and the union of its water with the expectant fields was celebrated as the mystic marriage of Isis and Osiris.

These rites recurred with a monotony analogous to that continual repetition which gave such solemnity to the gigantic architecture of Ancient Egypt. What we know of human nature assures us they must have exercised a dread fascination over the minds of their votaries;—a kind of awe which is not inconsistent with sensual excess. They could never have elicited a faith working by love. They could never illumine the inner being with the gradually increasing light of that perfect love which "casteth out fear."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 John iv. 18.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE FUNERAL RITES.

*Antiquity of Burial—Egyptian details—Embalming—Relics—Papyri—Mummy Case—Inquest—Sepulchres—Transmigration—Different tenets—Hall of Osiris—Prayers—Negative Confession—Judgment—Paradise—Place of Torment—Remains of original Revelation.*

NEXT to public worship, and perhaps before it, as an expression of the religious hopes and fears of a nation, are its funeral obsequies. Abraham bowed to the great law of the fall when he desired to bury his dead out of his sight; at the same time he testified his faith in the promise by acquiring a sepulchre, his only personal possession in the land which was to be the home of his posterity. Jacob and Joseph adhered to the same covenant: "There," said the dying Israel, "they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah:"—"bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite."<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptians well understood this original law of dust to dust. The hills on the western side of the Nile are pierced with sepulchres, on which they lavished a care denied to their houses; accounting the grave the true home of mankind. At the same time there was a distant hope which induced them to preserve the frail tenement of clay by costly embalmments.

The monuments afford more information on this part of their social economy than on any other: in

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlix. 29, 31.

fact, the larger part of them are sepulchres; the last as well as the first possessions of men. The entire arrangements, from the moment of death to the closing of the tomb, are graphically portrayed; nor were the imagination and affection of the survivors content to stop at this last visible boundary; the history of the soul is carried beyond the grave, and its sealed doors are covered with lists of the oblations which continued to be made for its benefit. The first scene is the corpse prostrate on the bed of death, with the soul



taking its flight from the mouth in the shape of a bird with human visage. The mourners are painted going about the streets in companies; both men and women beating their bosoms, and throwing dust on their heads. For the great ones of the earth, songs were repeated twice a day during the ten weeks employed in the embalming.



The latter office belonged to a special class, who received the corpse in their own quarter at a distance from the temples, and returned the mummy for the funeral rites. The brain and more perishable parts of the body were first extracted, partly to stay the progress of corruption, and partly with the view of subjecting them to the judgment of Osiris for the deeds of the body. The figures of speech which ascribe our actions to the heart, the brain, or other physical organs, were taken so literally, that portions of the frame were set apart in vases (seen near the mummy), to be actually *weighed* in the scales of judgment.

The cavities were filled with myrrh, cassia, and other fragrant gums, and the whole corpse was steeped for seventy days in natron; a pungent salt found in great abundance in the western lakes. When thoroughly saturated, the body was carefully wound in linen bandages, compressed and interlaced so as to envelop every limb with a uniform pressure; not a single bandage employed in modern surgery is said to be wanting. Between the inner and outer swathing various objects are found; such as figures of Osiris, or of a scarabeus with the name of the deceased, engraved seals, amulets, rings, necklaces, and jewels. The collars or chains worn by kings and other personages (as by knights of orders, chief justices, and mayors among ourselves) were sometimes of great size, made of gold, and enriched with precious stones and enamel. The signet rings of Thothmes III. and Amunoph III., one of gold, the other of silver, are in existence and bear their shields. Some rings are engraved with a lion, sphinx, or idol; some have a little square box (like a locket), to contain perfume. The most important

relics are the *papyri*, containing writings and paintings descriptive of the state of the soul after death.

The mummy was enclosed in a pasteboard case fitted to its shape, and painted in brilliant colours with the likeness of the deceased. The face of this portrait was sometimes gilded, but more generally coloured; brown was used for men, and an olive green for women. Artificial eyes of glass were inserted, and the whole was covered with hieroglyphics and emblematical figures expressing the name and quality of the deceased. This pasteboard case was often enclosed in one, two, or even three external coverings of wood.

Cheaper methods of embalming were practised by the poorer classes. In some cases the corpse was dipped in liquid asphalt; in others, only salted and dried, or filled with common salt and ashes and chips of bitter wood.

After the embalming followed a formal inquest on the deceased, preliminary to the interment. The sepulchre being usually situated on the western bank of the Nile, and the dwellings on the eastern, it was necessary to transport the funeral across the water. This was so important a religious ceremony, that when the river did not intervene, an artificial lake was made for the purpose. Before the coffin was placed in the *bari* or sacred bark, forty-two judges took their seats beside the water, and all comers were publicly cited to accuse the deceased. His relatives attended, on the other hand, to enumerate his good qualities, when judgment was given for or against the funeral rites. If a just impediment appeared, the body was remitted to the house till the family could disprove the accusation, or discharge the debt. If the verdict was favourable, an attendant touched the mummy with

the symbol of approbation, and it was conveyed to the tomb, attended by priests reciting prayers and burning incense.

Herodotus mentions a custom of placing the dead at table, and making them partakers of the festive banquet; but the monuments do not confirm the statement. The mummies not interred were, perhaps, occasionally taken from their closets, and presented with food and wine, similar to the offerings regularly made at the door of the sepulchre.

The sepulchral apartments were brilliantly painted with appropriate scenes from the life of the deceased. The farmer, trader, fisherman, sportsman, warrior, or priest, lay surrounded by his own avocations or amusements. The possessions of the man of property were enumerated, as if his eyes could still feast on them in the grave. His granaries are being filled, his slaves toiling, his table prepared; as if all had not passed to another, and the picture only mocked the mummy with pleasures that had fled for ever.

The poorer classes were piled in common receptacles, yet still with much attention to the preservation of the corpse. On every side death was confronted in his own domain: the art of man is still powerful to arrest his triumph, thousands of years after succumbing to the fatal blow.

Such extraordinary care for the preservation of the body, seems to argue a conviction that its uses were not yet ended. The Egyptian creed must have been widely different from that of the Asiatics, who hastened to destroy the wondrous mechanism in the flames. Herodotus tells us that "the Egyptians were the first to maintain the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal;" he means, probably, the first to main-

tain that doctrine in connexion with *transmigration*; for "they affirm," he continues, "that when the body perishes, the soul enters always into some other animal; and when it has made the circuit of all terrestrial and marine animals and birds, it again puts on the human body: this circuit, they say, is accomplished in three thousand years."<sup>1</sup> Strange as such a notion sounds to ourselves, all classes of Hindus are firm believers in transmigration at this day; and Pythagoras was so deeply impressed with the Egyptian doctrine that he transplanted it into Greece, where it was long regarded as a profound philosophy.

The theory, however, was not always the same. The modern Brahman agrees with the ancient Egyptian in teaching a second birth in human nature, after a series of transmigrations through other creatures. In fact, every Brahman believes himself to have passed through this probation, and to have actually attained the second birth. Hence they style themselves "twice born;" and say it is only from this caste that a soul can pass to its rest in God. The Brahman, however, not only disclaims all memory of the former life, but destroys the body by fire, anticipating a new one in each new state of existence, while the Egyptian would seem to have expected to return to the same body, and to re-awake in the midst of its familiar scenes. The Hindus differ further in holding the intermediate transmigration to be proportioned to the offences of the individual, instead of always comprehending the entire round of creation. Possibly this was the Egyptian doctrine also, though it is darkly worded by Herodotus. The monuments throw no light on the question of transmigration at all; since, with the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 123.



exception of one doubtful sculpture, supposed to represent the return of a wicked soul to earth in the shape of a swine, no representation of this tenet has been found. Some writers suppose the transmigration was not to commence till the body had perished; and the embalmment was intended to delay the doleful journey, the soul continuing with the corpse as long as it remained entire. That such an opinion was entertained by many is not improbable, since in the nineteenth century of gospel light some are still weak enough to think a churchyard haunted by ghosts. But this superstition was as little consistent with the authorized creed of the Egyptians as it is with our own.

On the papyri enclosed with the mummies we find described the whole progress of the spirit in the other world. The funeral procession is seen crossing the Nile in the crescent-shaped bark, preceded by the priest in leopards' skin, burning incense and making libations; the departed spirit itself walks in the train either in his bodily likeness, or in the conventional form of the hawk with human face. The doors of the sepulchre close upon the corpse as the "gates of hell," and he appears beyond them taking his solitary pilgrimage through the realms of darkness. He proceeds through divinities of various orders, sacred animals, and Tartarean monsters, to the judgment hall of Osiris. Here, standing at the door in an attitude of supplication, he offers the following prayer:—"O thou avenger, lord of justice, great god, lord of the two Themes (justice and truth), I worship thee, O my lord. I have spoken, speak thou to me thy name: tell me the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the great hall of justice and truth, living guardians

of the wicked, fed with their blood: bring forward my righteousness, search out my sins." The deceased then proceeds to enumerate the moral offences of which he has not been guilty: "I have defrauded no man, I have not slaughtered the cattle of the gods, I have not prevaricated at the seat of justice, I have not made slaves of the Egyptians, I have not defiled my conscience for the sake of my superior, I have not used violence, I have not famished my household, I have not made to weep, I have not smitten privily, I have not changed the measures of Egypt, I have not grieved the spirits of the gods, I have not committed adultery, I have not forged signet rings, I have not falsified the weights of the balance, I have not withheld milk from the mouths of my children." The offences that follow are peculiar to the climate and to the idolatry of Egypt: "I have not pierced the banks of the Nile in its annual increase, I have not separated to myself an arm of the Nile in its advance." These passages render it probable that in ancient as in modern times, an important part of the revenue of Egypt was raised by imposing a tribute upon the lands overflowed by the annual inundation; so that to obtain any portion of these fertilizing waters secretly was to defraud the state. This singular disavowal concludes thus: "I have not disturbed the gazelles of the gods in their pasturage, I have not netted the water-fowl of the gods, I have not caught the sacred fishes." It may be inferred from this and other passages, that there were parks or preserves around the Egyptian temples, where the sacred animals were kept, and that it was sacrilege to take them. "I have not despised the gods in their offerings;" in other words, "I have not offered to the gods that which

is imperfect," "I have not bound the cattle of the gods, I have not pierced the god in his manifestation," as a sacred animal. The prayer concludes with petitions for purification and illumination.

The deceased next enters the great hall of judgment, and, kneeling before the forty-two avengers, protests to each his innocence of the particular sin of which he was the avenging minister. The names of these terrible beings are descriptive of their appearance or qualities. The soul says to the first of them, "O thou that hast long legs (art swift to pursue), I have not sinned." To the second, "O thou that dost try with fire, I have not been gluttonous." To the fourth, "O thou that devourest tranquillity (that is, with whom there is no peace), I have not stolen." To the fifth, "O thou that smitest the heart, I have done no murder." To the sixth, "O thou with the two lions (heads), I have not falsified measures." To the seventh, "O thou that hast piercing eyes, I have not played the hypocrite." To the ninth, "O thou that dost make limbs to tremble, I have not lied." To the sixteenth, "O thou that dost delight in blood, I have not slain the cattle of the gods." To the twenty-second, "O thou that dost consume creation, I have not been drunken."<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing may suffice as specimens of what has generally been termed the negative confession. Some parts of it remain still in much obscurity as to their import; others allude to offences of which it is a shame even to speak. The declaration of the apostle regarding the ancient world is here abundantly confirmed: "They knew the judgment of God, that they who did such things were worthy of death."

<sup>1</sup> Osburn, pp. 155—157.

The deceased is then conducted into the hall by two figures wearing the ostrich feathers, the badge of equity. Scales are erected in the centre, in which his heart is weighed by Anubis against the symbol of righteousness, and the result is noted by Horus the Sun-god, who beholds all the deeds of mankind. The record is written by Thoth, and presented by Horus to Osiris, before whom is lying a mystic beast, compounded of crocodile, hippopotamus, and lion, which signified the divine vengeance. In some paintings a voracious animal called Cerberus (but not triple-headed), and resembling the hippopotamus, the emblem of Typhon, keeps watch over the sepulchre.

Such figures sufficiently indicate the deep-seated conviction of the human conscience, that "it is appointed unto all men once to die, and after that the judgment." They show the misgiving so terrible to sinners, that, though all "the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes, the Lord weigheth the spirits;"<sup>1</sup> but they know nothing of "mercy rejoicing against judgment," or of the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord imputeth "righteousness without works." The Egyptian when dying trusted to the blind demand of a heart which had not as yet been confronted with God: "Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know my integrity."<sup>2</sup> He was ignorant of the spiritual illumination: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."<sup>3</sup>

Some of the paintings represent the spirits of the dead in Tartarus, armed with lances, fighting with the Typhonian animals, the hippopotamus, serpent,

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Job xxxi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Job xlii. 5, 6.



tortoise, and ass. In others they are presumed to have passed unopposed through the judgment hall, and are seen re-embarking on the Nile of the other world. Here they behold again the face of the sun, and rising with him to a celestial Nile, disembark in his sphere. The sun addresses them with the words: "Take your sickles, reap your grain, carry it into your dwellings, that ye may be glad therewith, and present it as a pure offering to your god." Over them is written, "This great god speaks to them, and they speak to him; his glory illuminates them in the splendour of his disk, while he is in their sphere."<sup>1</sup> This would appear decisive of the sun being the great object of Egyptian worship. It is observable, also, that in the place of blessedness—in the language of the Brahmans, the sun's paradise—the occupations of earth are continued; the spirits plough, and sow, and reap, and thresh; in allusion to which a hoe is usually found painted on the shoulder of a mummy, and the workman's tools are interred with himself.

It is not clear how long this beatified state was to endure, or whether it was eternal. The Brahmans limit the enjoyment of paradise to a period equivalent to the balance of merit in favour of the soul when the account is cast up by the judge of the dead. That period expired, his claim is satisfied, and the soul must return to earth for another probation.

Other representations exhibit a place of torment,

<sup>1</sup> Rosellini Mon. Civ. iii. 323, 328, ap Kenrick. Mr. Osburn gives the inscription thus: "They have found favour in the eyes of the great God. They inhabit the mansions of glory when they enjoy the life of heaven. *The bodies which they have abandoned shall repose for ever in the tombs, while they rejoice in the presence of the supreme God.*" This important addition does not appear in Kenrick.

where wicked souls are condemned to terrible sufferings, embittered by reproaches from the fiends who inflict them. Here, too, the image of the sun is introduced, but black and rayless, and there is written over the condemned, "They do not see this great god; their eye does not imbibe the rays from his disk; their souls are not manifested (or made illustrious) in the world; they do not hear the voice of this great god who towers above their sphere."<sup>1</sup> The duration of the state of woe is again left uncertain, and it is by no means clear that the philosophy of the sacerdotal priests, still less the popular belief, on such mysterious subjects was fixed and determinate. We can trace, however, in the manner of their obsequies, an approximation to the true doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, with some other parts of the original revelation to man.

They retained, we see, that consciousness of immortality which was imprinted on man when he was created in the image of his Maker. They trembled under those convictions of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," of which the natural conscience everywhere shows itself susceptible. Enough remained of the traditions from the time of man's innocency to show them that happiness consists in seeing God face to face, in communing with him as friends, and in dwelling with him for ever. On the other hand, the sentence of the wicked still kept resounding in their ears: "Depart from me; I never knew you."<sup>2</sup> In some shape or other these primæval truths must underlie every religious system; they are the last whispers of the original voice of God in the soul that was made in his image. It is the gospel only that unites them into a definite consistent

<sup>1</sup> Rosellini, ap Kenrick, i. 487.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vii. 23.

utterance. It is CHRIST, who has brought life and immortality to light. He is the resurrection, the way, and the truth. He it is who will both judge the world in righteousness, and keep his redeemed "by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time."<sup>1</sup> No man cometh unto the Father but by him; but he that hath the Son, hath the Father also. "In thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Psa. xvi. 11.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE CHRONOLOGY.

*Connexion of History with Chronology—Want of a Common Era—Authorized Version—Septuagint—Philo—Josephus—Jewish Corruptions—Antediluvian Patriarchs—Reasons for longer Chronology—Abraham to Solomon—Results—First Egyptian Date—Shishak or Sheshonk—Bunsen's Scheme—Ethnical Grounds—Historical—Monumental—Isolated Names—No Era—Bunsen's Four Periods—Last only authentic—Date uncertain—Middle Empire visionary—Era of Menes—Probable course of Events—Shepherd Invasion not Chronological—Parallel case in Russia—Difficulties of Bunsen's Theory—Tablet of Abydos—Astronomical Confirmation—Nothing definite before Shishak—Connexion with Scripture—Approximate Table of Manetho's Dynasties.*

THE province of history is to distinguish the facts of antiquity, amid the cloud of popular and poetical tradition in which they are usually enveloped. Chronology assists in the inquiry by determining their dates. Facts without dates are but doubtful footmarks of the past. Tradition ever loves to throw its prodigies back into old uncertain ages, where they will be safe from unpleasant comparisons: a *date*, by connecting them with previous and contemporaneous history, would open objections which it might be difficult to refute. Hence the normal beginning of a fable is, "once upon a time." In passing from the domain of legend into that of history the first question, therefore, is,—*when?* Till we have at least an approximate date the story does not emerge from the mists of mythology.

On the other hand, a chronology without a history is even less real than a shadow. A shadow implies a substance from which it is cast, but a date without a fact is manifestly fictitious. Time is only recorded



when something is done which it is desired to perpetuate; and if not recorded, it must at best be only a conjecture. A legend which cannot be dated may possibly be true; but great periods of time without even a legend to sustain them are certainly false. For this reason we reject, as altogether fabulous, the vast but eventless periods prefixed to the chronology of the Babylonians and Hindus.

In every endeavour, then, to reconcile the annals of different nations, the first step is to dismiss the years in which nothing is related to have happened; the next is to test the events by finding a time in which they may *possibly* have occurred. The latter process would have been attended with little difficulty if the several nations had dated their events from some *common Era*, such as the Creation or the Flood. Neither of these, however, have been entered in any contemporaneous register; they could afterwards be ascertained only by computation or Revelation. No attempt at such computation was made till thousands of years after the event, and then the calculation could only proceed on the measures of time which had been immediately adopted. In the Bible, where alone Revelation was possible, the events are not referred to any general era, but to the age of the patriarchs in whose time they occurred, to the reigns of the kings, and to other notes which require to be carefully compared in order to arrive at a continuous chronology.

Hence the dates inserted in the margin of our authorized version, such as 4004 B. C., for the Creation of Adam; 2349 B.C., for the Flood; and 1491 B.C., for the Exodus, are by no means to be considered as parts of the Inspired volume. They are the results of Arch-

bishop Usher's calculations from the several indications of time contained in the Old Testament. These computations are embarrassed by the numbers being differently stated in various ancient copies and versions of the Holy Scriptures. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, numbers were commonly expressed by letters of the alphabet instead of figures; and these letters in the early methods of writing were easily mistaken for one another, so that, when not written in words at length, a number was peculiarly liable to be changed by the error of the transcriber.

Another source of disturbance is found in a discrepancy, amounting in the whole to about fourteen centuries, between the chronology of the modern Hebrew text, which was followed by Archbishop Usher, and that of the Greek Septuagint;—the translation made at Alexandria, B. C. 277, and commonly used by our blessed Lord and his disciples. At first sight it is natural to think that the Hebrew, as being the original language, must contain the genuine record of Inspiration; but it must be remembered that the Hebrew manuscripts now extant are copied from older ones; and none are so ancient as the time when the Greek translation was made. The question, then, is whether the Hebrew text at that time is truly represented by the Greek, or by the modern Hebrew: in other words, whether the discrepancy now existing is due to the fault of the Greek translators or of the Hebrew copyists.

Now, it is certain that the Septuagint was universally received as authentic at the time it was made, and for many centuries after. Almost all the passages quoted from the Old Testament by the writers of the New are taken from this version; and it was never intimated, either by them or *by their opponents*, that

any discrepancy existed from the Hebrew text. This amounts to a sanction of the passages quoted equal to inspiration itself, as well as to the highest approval of the entire version.

“Philo Judæus, who wrote in the age of the apostles, assures us that the Greek version was made with such care and exactness, that there was not the least variation in it from the holy original by addition, omission, or otherwise. He asserts that the Hebrews who knew the Greek language, and the Greeks who understood the Hebrew, were so struck with admiration at the entire agreement between the original and the translation, that they not only adored them as sisters, but as one and the same both in words and things: styling the translators not only accurate scholars, but inspired interpreters and prophets, who with a singular purity of spirit had entered into the very sentiments of Moses.”<sup>1</sup> It is observable, also, that Josephus, who wrote his Antiquities from the Hebrew Scriptures, generally agrees with the chronology of the Septuagint.

These facts seem to confirm the substantial accuracy of the Septuagint version, and to prove that at the time of our Lord no such discrepancy as now exists had been discovered. Most modern students, therefore, have agreed to prefer the Septuagint chronology to that which Usher deduced from the Hebrew text. Suspicions, indeed, have not been wanting that, *subsequently* to the time of our Lord and his apostles, some of the chronological data of the Old Testament were tampered with by the unbelieving Jews. No adequate motive can be assigned for an alteration in the periods of patriarchal and Jewish history by the

<sup>1</sup> Russell's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, i. 62.

Greek translators, and it is inconceivable that they could have made any without speedy detection and exposure by the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. On the other hand, reasons did exist why the opponents of the gospel should endeavour to diminish the evidence afforded by the Old Testament, that Jesus is "the very Christ." Some of the early Christian writers distinctly charge the Jews with being guilty of this fraud. The discrepancies are so numerous and so systematic, that it is difficult to suppose them to be purely the result of errors of transcription. Nor was a reason wanting why the unbelieving Jews should wish to abridge the period of their national history.

An opinion very generally prevailed, both among Jews and Christians, that as the earth was made in six days and the seventh was the sabbath, and as one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day, so the Messiah, or Second Adam, would appear at the close of the sixth millenium, which would be followed by a thousand years of sabbatical peace and felicity. Now, according to the Septuagint chronology, Christ was really born in the latter half of the sixth millennium; when the time of the seventh drew near, the Jews must either fight against a well-known tradition, received on the authority of their own Rabbis, or shorten the chronology, to allow of a longer interval for its fulfilment. They determined to put back the clock; for this purpose the Hebrew dates seem to have been altered by striking off a hundred years from the "generations" of the patriarchs before Abraham, and by expunging the second Cainan as a mistake. A "generation" is the age of the father at the birth of the oldest son.



This is stated in the present Hebrew text (Gen. v.) as follows:—Adam 130, Seth 105, Enos 90, Cainan 70, Mahaleel 65, Jared 162, Enoch 65, Methuselah 187, Lamech 182, Noah (at the flood) 600; making from the Creation to the Deluge 1656 years. But in the Septuagint Version, while the *total* age of each patriarch is the same, in six cases the age of the father at the birth of his first son is exactly 100 years more, so that the total period is 2256 years. Again, the Septuagint inserts after Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 12) a second Cainan, with a generation of 130 years, who is omitted in the Hebrew, but appears in Luke iii. 36.

The majority of English scholars, including Hayes, Jackson, Faber, Hales, Sir William Drummond, and Dr. Russell, adopt the longer chronology of the Septuagint and Josephus, which is also that of the Greek church and of the Christian fathers in general. The shorter computation of the modern Hebrew was, however, inserted in the Latin Vulgate, and that translation being declared by the Council of Trent to be of equal authority with the original Scriptures, it cannot, of course, be questioned by members of the Church of Rome.

With respect to the antediluvian ages, it is of little practical consequence which computation is adopted; but in the period which follows the Flood, the Scriptural narrative comes to be compared with the antiquities of Egypt; and it is important not to narrow the field of inquiry by a mistaken deference to calculations which are really independent of the sacred text. In fact, the longer chronology is almost indispensable to the harmony of the inspired narrative itself; since the arrangement copied into the margin of our Autho-

rized Version, will be found to make Noah contemporary for half a century with Abraham; and Shem, outliving the father of the faithful, to flourish with Esau and Jacob among the twelfth and thirteenth generations of his own posterity! No such extraordinary results are at all hinted at in the Bible itself.

From the call of Abraham to the Exodus, the "generations" are not continuous; but the length of this period is stated by St. Paul to be 430 years,<sup>1</sup> which approximates to what is recorded of the lives of the intervening patriarchs.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it may seem to be stated by Moses himself that 430 years was the duration of the bondage in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Here, however, there occurs a different rendering in the Septuagint, which reads, "The sojourning of the children of Israel in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan,*"—including the pilgrim life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the 430 years of "sojourning." This is possibly a gloss introduced by the Greek translators to explain the text, yet it shows the meaning then attached to the original; and being

1 Gal. iii. 17.	Years.
2 Abraham's age at the giving of the Promise (Gen. } xii. 4) . . . . . }	75
Ditto at birth of Isaac (Gen. xxi. 5) . . . . .	100
Difference . . . . .	25
Isaac's age at Jacob's birth (Gen. xxv. 26) . . . . .	60
Jacob's age on going to Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 9) . . . . .	130
	<hr/> 215
Levi's full age (Exod. vi. 16) . . . . .	137
Supposed age on entering Egypt . . . . .	45
	<hr/> 92
Supposed interval to the birth of Moses . . . . .	43
Age of Moses at Exodus (Exod. vii. 7) . . . . .	80
Total . . . . .	<hr/> 430
3 Exod. xii. 40.	

sanctioned by St. Paul, is properly adopted by modern chronologists. Those who adhere to the longer view suppose St. Paul to have simply followed the translation in ordinary use, without attaching any weight to the number of years; and that in fact a longer period elapsed between the death of Jacob's last son and the birth of Moses<sup>1</sup> than is allowed for by the others. Consequently this view would throw back all the dates anterior to the birth of Moses by 215 years.

There is yet a period of some uncertainty from the Exodus to the founding of Solomon's Temple, when the chronology becomes pretty surely established. It is stated in the first book of Kings at 480 years,<sup>2</sup> but this has been found inconsistent with the several notes of time contained in the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, as well as with the statement of St. Paul,<sup>3</sup> assigning 450 years to the judges between Joshua and Samuel. Josephus states the period (according to Dr. Hales) at 621 years; but Dr. Russell shows, by an enumeration of the component parts, that his chronology really brought it to 592. Eusebius computed it at 600, which Jackson has corrected to 579, while Mr. Stuart Poole thinks 638 more satisfactory. The difference is not sufficient to be of any material importance.

From the erection of the Temple to the birth of Christ the years are measured by the reigns of the kings, and by other particulars, which render the period so far certain, that the results of all the computations coincide, within a very few years, with the date inserted in the margin of the Authorized Version, 1012 B.C.

Having thus stated the facts of the Bible chronology, with the grounds for preferring the longer computation

<sup>1</sup> Exod. ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xiii. 20.

of the Septuagint and the early Church, we annex the dates of the principal periods, according to the several calculations grounded upon this view:—

	Hales.	Jackson.	Russell.	Poole.
Creation of Adam ..... B. C.	5411	5426	5441	5421
The Flood..... "	3155	3170	3185	3159
The Dispersion of Mankind } 401 years later (Gen. x. 25) }	2754	2759	2784	2758
Call of Abraham (Gen. xii. 1) "	2078	2023	2038	2082
Migration of Jacob into Egypt "	1863	1808	1823	1867
Birth of Moses..... "	1728	1673	1688	1732
Exodus ..... "	1648	1593	1608	1652
Foundation of Temple ..... "	1027	1014	1016	1014

Solomon reigned after the foundation of the Temple thirty-seven years; and in the fifth year of his son Rehoboam, Jerusalem was besieged and taken by Shishak, king of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This monarch is identified with Sheshonk, the first sovereign of Manetho's Twenty-second Dynasty; and hence we arrive at the *earliest really ascertained date* in Egyptian chronology. The authorized version puts it at 972 B.C., Mr. Poole at 969, and Baron Bunsen at 962. All earlier dates in the arrangement of Egyptian annals are reached by a backward computation, on the *data* afforded by the historians and the monuments, of the length of the several reigns previous to Sheshonk. These computations vary with the degree of credit attached to the numbers of Manetho, and the extent to which the monuments are supposed to confirm them.

The principal English authorities, with Champollion and Rosellini, the French and Tuscan Commissioners, have arrived at conclusions substantially in accordance with the Scripture chronology, as now stated. The recent Prussian Commission, however, pretends to have found evidence of an antiquity

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 25.



incompatible with any possible arrangement of the sacred text. Baron Bunsen, fixing the Exodus as late as 1320 B.C., puts the arrival of Jacob in 2754, making the sojourn in Egypt 1434 years! He also dates the accession of Menes to the throne of Upper and Lower Egypt in 3643 B.C., nearly 500 years before the longest Scriptural computation of the Flood. Lepsius, from whom Bunsen derives his newest information, increases the antiquity of Menes to 3892 B.C. Nor is this all; Bunsen further insists on a period of petty states before the consolidation of the monarchy under Menes, which carries back the chronology to 9085 B.C.; 3000 years before the Scriptural era of Adam. For the creation of the first man he demands at least 10,000 years more!<sup>1</sup>

These extravagant computations profess to be based, 1. On ethnological and philological considerations; 2. On a new comparison of the historical fragments of Manetho and Eratosthenes; and 3. On the evidence of the monuments, as newly interpreted by the German explorers.

1. The first is nothing but a conjecture of the length of time required for the development of different races and languages from a common original, disregarding the Scriptural account of a miraculous confusion of tongues at Babel. On this ethnological question we possess no information whatever, even if we could consent to eliminate the miracle referred to. We know that while some races have remained unchanged in colour and feature for many centuries, others have undergone the most extensive modifications in a comparatively short interval. The higher castes of Hindus have changed but little from the date of their first settlement in India,

<sup>1</sup> Outlines, etc.—Egypt and its Place in the World's History.

3000 years ago; while the descendants of the Portuguese have become darker than any of the natives in one tenth part of that time. There is no more evidence or probability of a uniform ratio in such changes than of a uniform rate of growth in the individual stature. Equally impossible is it to establish any rule for the diversities of language, except that new forms of speech appear to be matured in the infancy of nations, much more rapidly than in an advanced state of civilization. Among the natives of America, and on the borders of India and China, two villages separated only for a few generations, will become mutually unintelligible; and in the north of Asia the Ostiaks have developed so many dialects out of one language as to render conversation difficult beyond an area of ten miles.<sup>1</sup> It may be added that Baron Bunsen's speculations on this head are not admitted by any other Semitic scholar.<sup>2</sup>

2. His arrangement of the Egyptian historians is equally novel and arbitrary; and as they contain no chronology of their own, the arrangement is everything. Hundreds of years may be added or subtracted by a stroke of the pen, according as we suppose more or fewer of the dynasties to have reigned in *succession* over a united Egypt, or to have been the *contemporaneous* rulers of separate districts. This all-important point is determined, not by Manetho or Eratosthenes, but by the hypothesis on which the German critic chooses to arrange their catalogues.<sup>3</sup>

1 Professor MacMüller's "Philosophy of Universal History," iii. 483.

2 *Bible Dictionary*, EGYPT.

3 "It is allowed on all hands, by M. Bunsen, no less than others, that no chronological scheme of any value can be formed from Manetho's list until it be first determined, either which, dynasties or

Baron Bunsen assumes first that the thirty-eight Theban kings of Eratosthenes are identical with the first twelve dynasties of Manetho, and occupied just 1076 years; and secondly, that the entire duration of the thirty dynasties was 3555 years. To establish the first point he has instituted an ingenious and laborious comparison between the texts of the two historians; but no sober reader can rise from its perusal without feeling that it proceeds throughout on assumptions which fail to produce conviction. Eratosthenes himself never hints at the coincidence with Manetho, which forms the first foundation of the hypothesis, and the second is equally unknown to Manetho. Syncellus, indeed, assigns 3555 years as the total period of the thirty dynasties; but the statement is unmistakably not from the true Manetho, but from some of the fabricators of chronology, among whom a pseudo-Manetho held a prominent place. If this number be discarded as doubtful or spurious, there is absolutely nothing to support the extended system so confidently put forth.<sup>1</sup>

3. With regard to the corroboration derived from the monuments, it must be borne in mind that the monuments are in themselves *undated*. Some of them have a relative date, as compared with others; but there is none which can rank itself (without extrinsic aid) in any general order of time. Champollion has demonstrated that no existing monument is older than 2200 years; whatever record may refer to greater antiquity, it only expresses the *tradition* of the subsequent age in which it was erected. The

monarchs, were contemporary, and what deduction from the sum total is to be made on account of contemporaneousness."—*Aids to Faith, Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, by Rev. G. Rawlinson, p. 253.

1. Dict. Bible, 507.

chief sources of confirmation relied upon by modern critics are the royal names, found in such abundance throughout Egypt. Now, when a name occurs on a building whose period is otherwise known, or in a royal succession, it may be admitted as an important corroborative proof; but when it is found *alone*, on a quarry, a tomb, or a rock, with nothing to show the date of its inscription, it is mere guess-work to identify it with some similar name in the historical catalogue. The precariousness of such evidence is shown by the readiness with which names are altered, and transferred from one part of the chronology to another. Nothing is more common with the German Egyptologists than to rearrange the hieroglyphics so as to produce a different pronunciation,—in fact a different name,—or to slide a name a thousand years up or down the scale of time, for no other reason than to fit it better into their hypothesis.

The name *Chufu* (Cheops), found in the interior of the Great pyramid, where neither Herodotus nor Manetho could have seen it, furnishes some confirmation of their statements, that the structure was raised by Cheops or Suphis. But the case is very different with the group of hieroglyphics cut on a rock in the road to Cosseir, and found likewise on a tablet in the British Museum, with nothing to attest the date of the inscription, or the person by whom it was executed. Bunsen and Lepsius read this name *Pi-ape*, *Pape*, *Apop*, signifying “giant,” and identify it with the *Phiops* of Manetho’s Sixth Dynasty, the *Apappus* of Eratosthenes, and the *Apepi* of the Papyrus Sallier. Mr. Osburn, with quite as much reason, takes it for the shepherd king *Apophis*, under whom he





supposes Joseph to have flourished. Here are two kings of whose existence this name is the sole monumental evidence, who, if they ever lived at all, were at least 700 years apart. The hieroglyphics obviously cannot establish both; and it is quite possible that they belong to neither.

It must be taken, then, for a rule, that isolated names are of no chronological value whatever. With regard to those which appear on really historical structures, it is still to be remembered that the most authenticated monuments tell nothing beyond the year of the king's reign in which they were erected. The order in which certain kings followed others is shown in "successions," more or less extended, found in various places; but unless we had an entire list of all the kings, with the exact length of their reigns, it would be impossible to construct a chronology. Since no chain is stronger than its weakest part, any gap which cannot be measured is fatal to the whole. Now, no such list was ever compiled, and very few successions, if any, can be dated from the monuments alone. The Egyptians, in short, had no *common Era* to govern their chronology, and without an era years are as beads without a string.

Baron Bunsen's scheme distributes Egyptian chronology into four periods:—

1. A *pre-historic age* of divided government, anterior to the consolidation of the monarchy under Menes. To this period he assigns *on conjecture* 5442 years.

2. An *Ancient Empire*, commencing with Menes and continuing to the end of Manetho's Twelfth Dynasty. This period is assumed to be identical with that of the thirty-eight Theban kings of Eratosthenes, and upon his authority it is taken at 1076 years.

3. A *Middle Empire*, of foreign usurpation, when Egypt was invaded by Shepherd kings called *Hyksos*, and divided into several governments. This period includes the thirteenth and four following dynasties of Manetho, to which Bunsen, differing from all other writers ancient and modern, assigns a space of 929 years.

4. A *New Empire*, commencing with the Eighteenth Dynasty of Manetho, and concluding with the fall of the Pharaohs and the subjugation of Egypt by Persia, a period of 1296 years.

Of these four periods the last is the only one possessing historical or monumental evidence, and even this it is found impossible to measure. Our earliest proved date falls (as before stated) in the reign of Sheshonk, B.C. 972; every previous one is arrived at by a backward computation from this starting point. It might seem to be no difficult task to add up the reigns of the kings before Sheshonk, so as to arrive at the beginning of this period. The attempt, however, is no sooner made than the inadequacy of Manetho's materials becomes apparent. The Twenty-first Dynasty consists of names without a history, and the Twentieth has not even a name: neither, therefore, have any claim to the years assumed as their total. The Nineteenth is full of confusion, occasioned, apparently, by some great revolution in the monarchy; and the Eighteenth Dynasty, though better illustrated by monuments than any other, is the subject of the most discordant computations. Manetho has no less than four totals fathered upon him by his ancient commentators,<sup>1</sup> varying from 263 to 393 years: of modern writers Rossellini adopts 348, Bunsen 217, and Poole only 185 years.

<sup>1</sup> Africanus, 263; Josephus, 333; Ditto, 393; Eusebius, 348.

The result is, that the era of the New monarchy is placed by Poole at B.C. 1525, by Bunsen at 1626, by Rosellini at 1822, and by Champollion at 1847. So broken and uneven are the steps by which we have to climb up the first flight of these chronological ruins. Here the staircase abruptly ends: at this point there is an absolute failure of every kind of reliable evidence. Manetho, the sole authority for the Shepherd kings, is differently reported by his two editors and by Josephus. Monuments there are none; not one has been proved to belong to the so-called Middle empire, and of the few earlier ones nothing is certain but the pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty, and the buildings erected at Thebes by the Twelfth.

In such a state of things it would seem reasonable to divide Egyptian chronology into *two* parts, instead of four;—the historical monarchy commencing with the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the earlier governments of which but a few scattered notices remain. The facts appear to be these:—Menes represents the first colonization; after him Egypt was parcelled out under petty Pharaohs, claiming descent from his stock. Some of these were subjugated by Arab invaders; and eventually, the strangers being expelled, the separate states were consolidated into a monarchy under the Eighteenth Dynasty. On applying this simple view to Baron Bunsen's chronology, it is found to collapse at once into admissible limits. His first and third periods disappear altogether; if we assume the fourth to begin where he places it, at 1626 B.C., and the second to consist of 1076 years, with thirteen of interval, we arrive at 2715 B.C. for the era of Menes, and the commencement of Egyptian chronology. This would coincide exactly with the dispersion from the plains of



Shinar, and the consequent settlement of Mizraim in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that Mr. Stuart Poole, whose system is mostly based on astronomical data, fixes the era of Menes only two years later; he adds that a concurrence of astronomical evidence points to the same century.<sup>2</sup>

On examining more closely the two periods thus dismissed from the German chronology, we find them not merely destitute of historical and monumental evidence, but opposed to some decisive testimony of both descriptions. All authorities agree that Menes was the first human ruler. In placing him in immediate succession to the gods and *manes*, Manetho must at least exclude any previous earthly governments.<sup>3</sup> To imagine a previous period of petty kings would be inconsistent with the best established fact in the history.

Again, the assumption that all Egypt was united into a monarchy from the time of Menes is equally opposed to the language of the Egyptian historian. After assigning "the first kingdom" to the dynasty of Menes, Manetho entitles the succeeding dynasties, *Thinite*, *Memphite*, *Elephantine*, *Heracleopolitan*, *Disopolitan*, or *Theban*, and *Xoite*. It is admitted that these dynasties reigned at the cities enumerated, and some of them were beyond question contemporaneous. It follows that Egypt was then divided into several kingdoms. Other similar states may have existed, the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. x., xi.

<sup>2</sup> Dict. Bible, p. 508.

<sup>3</sup> Bunsen would explain the reigns of the gods as signifying a government of priests ruling in their names; but this conjecture is opposed to the uniform history of the first ages of society. We have seen reason to believe that idolatry was unknown in Egypt at this early period. Moreover, if the reigns of the gods are to be interpreted of a hierarchical government, what is the historical equivalent of the *manes* or ghosts who succeeded them?



names of whose rulers escaped the researches of Manetho. The Pharaohs of those petty kingdoms, like the descendants of Rurik in Russia, all claimed to be of the great founder's blood; like them, they may have owned a nominal grand prince, or, as among the petty rajahs of ancient India and the early chiefs of Britain, some king would from time to time assert his supremacy by force. In this manner, aided perhaps by alliance and inheritance, the preponderance gradually centered in the Theban line. After the Shepherd invasion, and the consequent shattering of other families, they became the head of the native confederacy, and on the expulsion of the Shepherds attained to a permanent sovereignty.

The Middle empire is an assumption equally untenable. As stated by Baron Bunsen, it requires us to believe first in a united monarchy continued in direct succession from Menes for 1076 years, and then in its overthrow by strangers, who established another in its place, which lasted 929 years, and then succeeded by the sovereignty admitted to have been erected by the Eighteenth Dynasty. Now, of the strangers thus interposed for near 1000 years between two native monarchies, only *six names* were known to Manetho, not one of which has been identified even with an isolated scutcheon. The right side of the tablet of Karnak exhibits a series of scutcheons, possibly forming part of the genealogy of Thothmes III., which Lepsius and Bunsen conceive must of necessity belong to the native dynasties of the Hyksos period; but as none of the names which they decipher are found in Manetho, the identification is imaginary. All the tablet proves is that Thothmes counted these names among his ancestors, but where or when they reigned, or whether

they were kings at all, is matter of hypothesis. The same is to be said of the royal names extracted from the Turin Papyrus, and of a few others assigned to this period. They do not in the least sustain the chronology into which the German arrangement has thrust them; it would be quite as easy to construct an hypothesis which should refer them to a totally different age. Baron Bunsen claims a further support from the fifty-three Theban kings following the thirty-eight of Eratosthenes, whom Syncellus did *not* transcribe from Apollodorus. These unknown persons he appropriates with characteristic confidence to his "Middle empire;" but Lepsius is not less certain that they are the kings of the "New empire" (from the Eighteenth to the Thirtieth Dynasty), and as they follow close upon those of the Old, Apollodorus would in that case be a witness to the non-existence of any interval.

The chronology depends entirely on the question how far the five dynasties which Manetho numbers from XIII. to XVII. were or were not contemporaneous. If they were all consecutive they amount to above twenty centuries; and one Egyptologist, at least, is bold enough to compute the Middle Empire accordingly at 2017 years.<sup>1</sup> Bunsen choosing to take the XV., XVI., and XVII., as consecutive, and the XIII. and XIV. as contemporaneous, makes the total period 929 years. He mentions another view by which the XIII. and XVII. would form the consecutive measures of time, and the other three be contemporary, reducing the period to 517 years. Mr. Poole's arrangement lowers it below 400. It is but to take a further step in the same direction, and reckon the whole five contemporaneous with the XII. and some earlier

1 Vicomte Rougè, in Bunsen, ii. 450.

dynasties, and the Hyksos period disappears from the chronology altogether. Manetho himself, who, according to Josephus, computed the duration of their power at 511 years, states that at the same time native dynasties were reigning in Upper Egypt. He gives no authority for adding on that period, or any other, to the Egyptian chronology.

A similar invasion occurred within the range of modern history, when the Russian states were subjugated by the Mongol Tartars, who more than once took Moscow; and having established themselves in the Golden Horde on the frontier of the empire, put the native princes to tribute for a period of more than 200 years. The Mongols, however, have no existence in Russian *chronology*, because the succession was continued through the tributary princes down to Ivan the Great, by whom the Tartar yoke was cast off, and the several principalities were consolidated under the Muscovite sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> In like manner the present question is not how long the Shepherds reigned, but whether their reigns *intervened* between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

To accept the chronology of Baron Bunsen, we must recognise a period as long as the interval between Alfred the Great and Queen Victoria, without a single fact or monument, a name or a *grave*, to attest its existence. "Improbable and unexampled (he admits it to be) that a foreign people should maintain themselves in Egypt for nine or even five centuries, and have lived so like barbarians that not a single monument of theirs can be pointed out." But this is far from stating the entire marvel. Not only is no Hyksos monument re-

<sup>1</sup> "Russia, Ancient and Modern," p. 85.



maining, but none belonging to the native princes their tributaries. Not one pyramid, obelisk, temple, palace, or tomb, nor a fragment of one, can be found for the whole period. Not that Egyptian art had as yet no existence, for the works of the Fourth and Twelfth Dynasties attest its progress up to the time in question. Not that it was then suddenly and permanently quenched under the inroad of the barbarians, for Bunsen himself observes that "at the end of this period, which is longer perhaps than the duration of the historical life of most modern people, the old Egyptian empire comes forth again in renovated youth, and in fact, as the monuments prove, with its national peculiarities, its religion, its language, its writing, its art, in precisely the same condition as if no interruption had occurred, or, at most, nothing beyond the temporary inroad of some Bedouin robbers."<sup>1</sup> What, then, could have occasioned the long paralysis? and—greater wonder still—what could have suddenly removed it after nine centuries of lifelessness? We can conceive of Rip van Winkle falling asleep, but after sleeping even for twenty years it is very hard to imagine how he came to awake! In the words just quoted, Baron Bunsen has himself pronounced the doom of his Middle empire. Where no interruption is apparent it is reasonable to suppose that none occurred. Where the evidence is of "nothing beyond the temporary inroad of some Bedouin robber," the verdict must be that nothing else took place.

The witnesses, however, are not all of a negative kind. The monuments contain some positive testimony which this author has singularly disregarded. The English authorities have long been agreed, from

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen, ii. 418.



comparing the Tablet of Abydos with other monuments, that the names which there immediately precede the Eighteenth Dynasty are those of the Twelfth, without any break or interval whatever. This discovery, first made by Colonel Felix and the Duke of Northumberland, and fully established by Dr. Hinckes,<sup>1</sup> led Sir Gardner Wilkinson to pronounce the dynasties intervening in Manetho to be either interpolated or contemporary. The fact was long obstinately disputed by continental critics; but Bunsen now announces it as an important discovery made by Lepsius in 1840, that the Tablet of Abydos "jumps over" the Shepherd period, and exhibits the scutcheon of Amosis, the first sovereign of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in immediate sequence to that of Ammenemes, the last of the Twelfth. This admitted fact disposes for ever of the German chronology. The writer could hardly be in earnest who suggested that, should the Turks be expelled from Constantinople, and their dominions be annexed to modern Greece, King Otho might choose to inscribe himself as successor to the last of the Constantines, in superb indifference to the intervening Mahmouds, Selims, and Mustaphas, just as Charles II. follows his father among the kings of England, without noticing the Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> The hypothesis is sufficiently bold; but, granting the required stretch of regal obliviousness, can it be imagined that all *physical* evidences of the Ottoman empire would disappear before the imperial edict? would "the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples," melt into thin air, and leave not a minaret or a grave to tell of twelve centuries of Moslem occupation?

<sup>1</sup> Trans. R.I.A., xix., pp. 2, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick, ii. 196.

Whatever, then, may have been the nature or duration of the Shepherd invasion, we must concur in the opinion which assigns it to a period anterior to the close of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Theban kings whom Manetho counted in his Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties are wholly unknown. In those distracted times there may well have been several chiefs exercising or claiming authority in the Thebaid, each of whom, with a writer like Manetho, would go to swell the number of royal dynasties; but such materials cannot justify the interposing of a large chronological interval in the face of the authentic tablet which connects the last ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty with the first of the Eighteenth.

Attempts have been often made to correct the chronology from the data supplied by the astronomical paintings on the ceilings of some of the temples. The sudden overthrow of the speculations based on the zodiac of Denderah is well known; Mr. Poole's investigation of a similar monument in the Ramesseion may possibly be deserving of more attention. To him belongs the discovery of the two great Egyptian cycles, to which he has given the names of the *tropical cycle*, and the *panegyric year*. The first is defined by the coincidence of the new moon with the vernal equinox; it is believed to be commemorated by an inscription in the reign of Amasis, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, which the calculations of Professor Airey assign to the year B.C. 507. A similar coincidence is supposed to be found in the reign of Amenemha II., the third ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty, who would thus be fixed to the year B.C. 2005.<sup>1</sup> The panegyric year, like the prophetic year of Holy

1 Horæ Egyptiacæ and Bible Dictionary.

Scripture, consisted of a year for a day; and by reckoning two of these from Amenemha to Menes, Mr. Poole arrives at B.C. 2717, as the era of the first mortal king.

On the other hand, Sir G. C. Lewis, after examining all that is known or conjectured of Egyptian astronomy, concludes that the science was in too rudimentary a condition to be of any value whatever in determining the chronology. Rejecting altogether the theories which rely upon its aid, he comes to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for placing any of the buildings and great works in Egypt at a date anterior to the building of Solomon's Temple, B.C. 1012.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Poole himself admits that we have not attained to a sufficient knowledge of Egyptian astronomy to rely upon it in the determination of the chronology.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, then, it appears that Ancient Egypt possesses no evidence, historical, monumental, or astronomical, that can establish a chronology independent of its connexion with sacred or classical history. It comes into contact with the Scripture chronology in the reign of Shishak, B.C. 972, and with that of Greece under Psamaticus B.C. 670; before those dates all is conjectural. In spite of Baron Bunsen's confident assertions, there is not a shadow of proof that any human being existed in Egypt earlier than four centuries after the Flood. The Great pyramid probably belongs to the Fourth Dynasty, and *may be* as old as 2000 B.C.; while the earliest monuments of Thebes are those of the Twelfth. There is monumental evidence that this Dynasty was succeeded by the Eighteenth. Everything else is pure conjecture. No date is really ascertained, or can be ascertained, for any king before Psamaticus, save by connecting him

<sup>1</sup> Astronomy of the Ancients, ch. v. and vii.

<sup>2</sup> Bible Dict., 505.

with the Scripture history ; and anterior to Shishak, all such connexions are an open field for hypothesis. The Pharaohs who treated with Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, cannot be certainly identified with any Manethonian or monumental ruler. This is not surprising when we consider that the fortunes of Israel, however interesting to the student of Holy Scripture, would be of little moment in the eyes of the children of Amun. They would not erect monuments to Abraham or Jacob, nor perpetuate in hieroglyphics the national humiliation of the Exodus. Much incidental confirmation is derived to Holy Scripture from the study of the monuments, and *no single fact has yet been established to its disparagement* ; but in respect of chronology it is the Bible which must arrange the Egyptian antiquities, and not the antiquities that can for a moment correct the Bible.

Of the chronological schemes adopted by Egyptologists, Mr. Poole's appear to be generally the best supported. It is at variance, however, with the Tablet of Abydos, in allowing an interval of nearly 400 years between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. By withdrawing this interval, the accession of the latter is brought into accordance with the conclusions of Champollion. The table on the next page is constructed from Mr. Poole's with this emendation, and is proposed as in some degree approaching to the truth ; we reserve, however, the important qualification that all is uncertain, and for that reason substitute round numbers in lieu of figures which might give an appearance of accuracy where none can be fairly pretended to.



## DYNASTIES BEFORE SHISHAK.

<i>Thinite.</i>		<i>Memphite.</i>		<i>Elephantinite.</i>		<i>Heracléopolite.</i>		<i>Diospolite, or Theban.</i>		<i>Xoites.</i>		<i>Shepherd.</i>	
I. Circ. 2700 B.C.		III. Circ. 2600		V. Circ. 2450		IX. Circ. 2200		XI. Circ. 2200.	[XVII. ?	XIV. Circ. 2050		XV. and XVI.	
II. Circ. 2450 "		IV. Circ. 2400				X. ?		XII. Circ. 2050, XIII. ?					
		VI. Circ. 2200						XVIII. Circ. 1850.					
		VII. ?						XIX. Circ. 1600.					
		VIII. ?						XX. ?					
								<i>Tanite.</i>					
								XXI. Circ. 1050.					
								<i>Bubastite.</i>					
								XXII. 982 B.C., Shishak.					

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE PHARAONS OF MEMPHIS.

*Reign of the Gods—First Dynasty—Menes, Osiris, or Mizraim—Fable ends—Athis, Thoth, and Horus—Division of the Colony—Second and Third Dynasties—Fourth—Pyramids—Chufu—Kneph Chufu—Sakra—Mycerinus—First Idolaters—Legend at Sais—Brick Pyramid—Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—Nitocris—Wife of Psameticus—Eleventh Dynasty—End of Manetho's First Book—Inaccuracies—Visit of Abraham.*

IF any faith is to be given to the dynasties of Manetho, "the gods were the first to exercise power among the Egyptians: next the royal authority devolved by continued succession, in the space of 1300 years, to Bytis." Bytis is fixed upon as the first of the priests who are pretended to have governed Thebes in the name of its patron deity Amun. By Manetho himself, however, the gods are clearly declared to have ruled in person; and Bytis was a distant successor. In another place he relates that, "after the gods, reigned *demigods* for 1255 years, then other kings for 1817 years, then other kings of Memphis for 1790 years, afterward other ten kings of This for 350 years. Then followed a dominion of *manes*,<sup>1</sup> *demigods*, for 5813 years."

It is out of this fabulous jumble that Baron Bunsen proposes to extract the "prehistoric" ages, which are to carry back the Egyptian annals to a period beyond the Mosaic creation. Commentators less credulous

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius inserts the conjunction "and" between these words.

conceive the whole to be a manufacture of the later priests, with a view of eclipsing the mythology of their Greek visitors. Their predecessors were altogether ignorant of these divine dynasties; nothing seemed more ridiculous to the priests who conversed with Herodotus, than the notion that any deity had ever lived upon earth. They took him into their temples, and showed him a series of 345 wooden statues of high priests, each of whom was "a man, the son of a man."<sup>1</sup> The pretension of the Greeks to be descended from the gods seemed to them both impious and absurd. As those pretensions, however, became better known in Egypt, it was thought a point of honour to claim an ancestry at least as ancient and illustrious; and Manetho, avowedly writing to correct the impressions produced by Herodotus, either found or fabricated the supernatural dynasties which some would now adduce against the chronology of Holy Scripture. The only point deserving a moment's attention in these fables is the testimony they supply to an early tradition, that some of the persons worshipped as deities were really born and reigned on the banks of the Nile. Such was no doubt the popular belief; when divested of its mythical colouring, it simply means that the first rulers were afterwards deified.

"After the manes and demigods is reckoned the first kingdom (or, according to Eusebius, the 'first dynasty'), consisting of eight kings, the first of whom was Menes the Thinite: he reigned sixty-two years, and perished through being torn to pieces by a hippopotamus." Eusebius adds that "he excelled in the glory of his administration, and that all the reigning

<sup>1</sup> Herod., ii. 143: "A *piromis*, son of a *piromis*," i. e., *romi*, "man," with the article *pi*.

families which followed were his descendants." That Menes was the first mortal king is one of the few points in which all the traditions are agreed. Manetho has involved him in a mythical atmosphere by introducing him as the successor of supernatural rulers unknown in the time of Herodotus. The name first appears on



the monuments at the head of a procession of statues on the walls of the Ramesseion at Thebes. It signifies "Founder," and is directly connected with the city of Memphis, which is expressed in the hieroglyphics by two of the same signs followed by a pyramid,<sup>1</sup> .

In like manner the traditional founder of Rome was named Romulus.

Menes is probably the same with Osiris; if regarded at all as an historical person, he was most likely Mizraim; who, entering Egypt by the Isthmus of Suez, and planting his followers along the banks of the river, would naturally fix his capital at the apex of the Delta. Memphis, however, seems not to have been the earliest settlement. The places first named in the Bible are Zoan and On (Heliopolis), both nearer to the Asiatic frontier, and consequently in the path of the primitive immigrants. We read that "Zoan was built seven years after Hebron"<sup>2</sup>—a notice apparently meant to intimate that these were two of the earliest settlements of the children of Ham. It is very possible that both were founded by Mizraim. The "field of Zoan" is the Psalmist's designation of Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Memphis is not

<sup>1</sup> The lute signifies "good:" Menes is the "settler:" Memphis, "the good settlement."

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xiii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Psal. lxxviii. 12, 43. This is one of the "psalms of Asaph," which are probably of various dates. Mr. Jebb ascribes it to a contemporary of David.



named till the time of the prophets, and then in conjunction with Zoan.<sup>1</sup>

Zoan was the same with *Tanis*, which gave its name to the branch of the Nile next the Pelusiatic, at the mouth of which it is still represented by the ruins of *San*. By some authorities Menes is called the *Tanite*,<sup>2</sup> a designation more intelligible, in connexion with Mizraim, than Thinite. Eratosthenes terms him the *Theban*, showing the desire of all the royal houses to trace their lineage to the same revered progenitor. No mention of Upper Egypt, however, occurs in the Book of Genesis; if Mizraim had any connexion with this region, it must be sought in the legend which represented Menes as being torn to pieces by a hippopotamus. The story wears a fabulous aspect, and might be only a mythical way of disposing of the great founder, analogous to the carrying up of Romulus into heaven. Still it is not impossible that such an accident may have happened in a hunting expedition; in that case it might be the foundation of the reverence in which Abydos was held as the burying place of Osiris. The later fabulists were dissatisfied with so ignoble a termination of the great founder's life. In their hands the uncouth beast became the spirit of evil; the first king was elevated into the great God; and, as every royal family laid claim to his blood, every temple was furnished with a relic of his corpse.

Menes was succeeded by his son Athothis, "a pupil of the Muses," to whom Sanconiatho ascribes the invention of letters. He is probably, therefore, the person deified as Thoth; while, as the son of Osiris, he was also the god Horus. According to

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xix. 13; Hosea ix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Osburn, p. 182.

Manetho, "he built the palace at Memphis, and wrote the anatomical books, being a physician." The sacred writings in the temples all bore the appellation of "books of Hermes" (*i.e.*, Thoth); they doubtless included some medical treatises; but there is no pretence for ascribing to them so early a date. According to the Maneros ballad, Athothis came to an untimely end like his father, and, in the Osirian legend, his mother Isis was the involuntary cause of his death. These tragical circumstances may have contributed to perpetuate the remembrance of the first two monarchs in the affections of the nation. Their names took a deep hold of tradition, and passed into the ranks of the gods, while those of their successors were forgotten. For this is all that is known or conjectured of the "dynasty of Menes." Manetho subjoins six more kings, but they do not agree either in name or number with the list of Eratosthenes.

The colony was now divided into separate states under different rulers. A Second Dynasty arose at This, while the family of Menes was succeeded at Memphis by a Third. The names in Manetho and Erathosthenes are still discordant; and no events are recorded beyond a few puerile or fabulous notices. Bunsen labours hard to identify one or two of the Third Dynasty with some of the royal scutcheons hitherto unappropriated; but the names have a suspicious resemblance to those of later kings, and Lepsius acknowledges that he has found nothing certain before the Fourth Dynasty;—the age of the pyramids of Ghizeh.



The first of these structures, according to Manetho, was built by Suphis I., whom Eratosthenes calls Saophis, and Herodotus Cheops.

Some hieroglyphics in the adjacent tombs read *Chufu*, which is nearly the same sound; another group in the pyramid itself, *Kneph Chufu*, has been thought to denote his successor Suphis II., the Sensuphis of Eratosthenes. These historians seem to place them considerably earlier than the time of Cheops, as calculated by Herodotus; but we have already seen that no reliance can be placed on the chronology of the Egyptian priests. Neither does the pyramid itself afford the means of determining its date further than what may be conjectured from the absence of idolatrous sculptures, and the astronomical argument derived from the passage being ascertained to point to the pole star 2000 B. C. Herodotus further tells us that Cheops and his successor reigned 106 years, during which the temples were closed, while the people were grievously oppressed by forced labours in the quarries and at the works: on this account their funeral rites were either prevented or clandestinely performed, and their names were consigned to perpetual odium. This statement renders it probable that the two kings were of a different faith from the priests by whom such legends were related. Herodotus adds that local tradition ascribed the Great pyramid to the Shepherd Philiton, who then fed his flocks in the adjacent plain. The absence of the sculpture and ornament universally found in other Egyptian sepulchres induces General Vyse, also, to refer the pyramid to that favourite resort under every difficulty—a Shepherd king. The conjecture might be supported from the meaning of the name Suphis, which Eratosthenes translates *Komastes*, “the hairy one.” We find the prophet





Elijah described by a similar epithet, "an hairy man,"<sup>1</sup> or literally a "lord of hair;" and the long shaggy locks and bushy beard of the Tishbite were common features among the Arabs, whereas the Egyptian kings and priests wore little or no hair. The pyramid, however, seems to be too intimately connected with Memphite ideas to be assigned to a foreign invader. The name of *Kneph*, too, must be allowed to establish an Egyptian origin, though not necessarily an idolatrous one.

On the other hand, Lepsius has discovered the name of Chufu in the grottos of Beni Hassan, as well as in graves at Memphis, which, if they can be supposed to be contemporary monuments, would reduce his era within the idolatrous period. On the whole, it seems more probable that these inscriptions belong to a later age, and that the builder of the Great pyramid was really so long anterior to the priests of Phthah that they knew nothing of him beyond the name.

After Cheops six rulers are found in Africanus, whose names are omitted by Eusebius as having done nothing worthy of mention. It is remarkable that neither of the Egyptian historians notice the Second pyramid, which, according to the Greek writers, was built by Cephren or Chabryis, the brother or son of Cheops. This tradition is supposed to be confirmed by the discovery of the name *Shafra* in an adjacent tomb, where he is spoken of as "the great one of the pyramid;" but the name is of quite a different order from Chufu, and Manetho's Suphis II. has been already taken possession of for Kneph Chufu. *Shafra* is obviously connected with the worship of Ra, and undoubtedly belongs to the idolatrous period.





The same remark applies to Mycerinus, whom Herodotus reports to be the founder of the Third pyramid. His hieroglyphics, reading *Menkaru-ra*, and even a portion of his remains, are supposed to have been discovered in the sepulchral vault; yet Manetho attributes this pyramid to Nitocris, and catalogues Mencheres among those who did nothing worthy of mention.



His name is interpreted by Eratosthenes *Heliodotus*, "given to the sun;" this agrees with the hieroglyphic, but there is no evidence that the latter was a contemporaneous inscription. That some traditions ascribed the pyramid to a woman is mentioned by Herodotus, and they were perhaps the most correct, though the priests whom he followed gave it to Mycerinus. This monarch was extolled as a model of piety; he reopened the temples which had been closed for more than a century, and zealously supported their services. In accordance with this character we find the hatchet appended to his name, which denoted divine honours, and in the ritual of the dead he is invoked as a god. Mycerinus, then, was the first king traditionally celebrated as an idolater; if the tradition could be relied on, it might be concluded that the votaries of the new rites were the authors of the violence done to the sepulchres of the Suphises, and of the odium which clung to their memory.

The whole story of Mycerinus and his pyramid is involved with that of Nitocris, which is presently to be considered. Though the priests of Memphis chose to adopt this king as the champion of their gods, it would appear that his zeal was by no means crowned with the expected reward. He was warned by the famous oracle of Buto that his reign

was to terminate in seven years; on which he loudly reproached the gods that his predecessors, who were their enemies and oppressors of the people, had each enjoyed a long reign, whilst he, a pious and merciful king, was to be cut off with so disproportionate a career. The oracle replied that the fates had decreed a tyranny of 150 years upon Egypt, and his predecessors had been their instruments in executing the sentence; but he himself was to be removed on account of his virtues, in order that others might complete the destined punishment.<sup>1</sup> Mycerinus was so little grateful for the distinction that he endeavoured to "convict the oracle of falsehood" by passing his nights in revelry, and thereby doubling the number of his days.

In spite of this monarch's exalted character, tradition imputed to him a moral depravity which gave little offence to the priests who celebrated his religious zeal. A magnificent chamber at Sais contained the gilt figure of a heifer said to enclose the mummy of Mycerinus's daughter, before which incense was burnt by day and brilliant lamps were kept burning through the night. The heifer shown to Herodotus was no doubt sacred to Isis or Athor, and his guide was probably *hoaxing* the Greek historian. Yet the Sais legend is remarkable, as in some degree supporting the account which attributed the Third pyramid to the wife of Psamaticus, whose court was in that city. Manetho also repudiates its ascription to Mencheres of Memphis, when he gives that king a reign of sixty-three years without a single fact worthy of mention.

The giver of the oracle which removed Mycerinus, in order to complete the chastisement of the Egyptians,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 133.

was clearly aware that his immediate successors cared as little for the idols as those who went before him. Of their names or actions nothing is either known or surmised. According to Herodotus, Mycerinus was followed by Asychis, a celebrated legislator, who passed an ordinance permitting money to be borrowed on the corpse of a deceased father, provided that the debtor was not himself to be interred until this strange description of *post obit* had been paid off. He adds that Asychis erected a pyramid of brick with an inscription to this effect, "Compare me not with the stone pyramids, for I am as superior to them as Jove (Kneph) is to the other gods. They stuck poles into the lake, and made bricks out of the mud, which adhered to them; thus was I made." This inscription has not been found; probably it never existed: but Sir Gardner Wilkinson was inclined to think one of the brick pyramids of Dashoor might be that of Asychis, though he was unable to discover the alleged superiority of construction. Mr. Perring has since pronounced it decidedly superior to every other pyramid except the Third, and this might in some degree confirm the statement of Herodotus; but his succession differs so widely from that of Manetho, that where all is without evidence little credence can be given to either.

The Fourth Dynasty was succeeded at Memphis by the Sixth, the Fifth apparently constituting a contemporary royal house at Elephantine. The catalogue is still merely a nominal one, unsupported by facts or evidences. Of the first king, Othoes, we are told that he was killed by his guards; of the fourth, Phiops, that he ascended the throne at six years of age, and reigned till he was a hundred. Eratos-



thenes gravely determines the reign to have lasted one hundred years "less one hour!" Lepsius and Bunsen would identify this centenarian Pharaoh with a royal scutcheon, read Pipi and Apappus; which others take for Apophis the Shepherd king; but all are equally without evidence. The Pharaohs are still but a procession of names;—spectral kings, who come like shadows and so depart.

The last of the dynasty wears at first sight an appearance of greater reality. This was the famous Nitocris, "the handsomest woman of her time, of a florid (red-white) complexion and flaxen hair." She mounted the throne in succession to her husband,<sup>1</sup> who was murdered in his palace. Having invited the assassins to a grand banquet, she caused the waters of the Nile to be admitted by a subterraneous passage, and destroyed them all,<sup>2</sup> after which she plunged into a pit of ashes and put an end to her life. To this queen Manetho attributes the erection of the Third pyramid. The modern Arabs inform us that she still watches near in the shape of a beautiful and courageous woman.

The Arabs are perhaps as much to be relied upon as Manetho, if these are indeed the words of Manetho and not of his editor. They express the tradition alluded to by Herodotus, which ascribed the Third pyramid to a woman; but later Greek authors ascertained this woman to be the wife of Psamaticus, who reigned at Sais some 2000 years later than the era of the Sixth Dynasty. Their

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus says her *brother*, which is inconsistent with her foreign complexion. In Eratosthenes it is her husband.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of a subterraneous communication with the Nile was entertained also of the Great pyramid.



account, that she was a Greek slave, whom Psamaticus married for her beauty, sufficiently identifies her with "the ruddy cheeks and flaxen hair" of Manetho; an inscription, in fact, still extant, gives the name of Nitocris to the Queen of Psamaticus.<sup>1</sup> No other Nitocris is known to the monuments; and Lepsius has discovered that *Psamaticus himself assumed the name of Mencheres*. Baron Bunsen's enthusiastic tribute to the "veritable remains of the revered Menkaru-ra" is, therefore, in all probability, entirely thrown away. The pyramid is brought down to the sixth century B. C., and if Manetho has not been interpolated by his editors, he stands convicted of transferring Nitocris and her monument from the *Twenty-sixth* to the Sixth Dynasty, in order to magnify the antiquity of his country.

After this imaginary Nitocris all is confusion in the Memphite succession. Manetho's Seventh Dynasty consists of seventy kings, reigning each but a single day. Then follows an Eighth, composed of twenty-seven nameless rulers, who reigned 156 years. These were probably thrown in at the close of the monarchy to make up the period, or the number, assigned by tradition. Meantime other royal houses had taken root at Heracleopolis<sup>2</sup> and Thebes.<sup>3</sup> Of the former we are only told that the first sovereign went mad, and was killed by a crocodile;—a story obviously invented from the persecution with which the animal was visited in that particular district. Of the Theban line, the only record is that it consisted of sixteen kings who reigned for forty-three years.

Here Manetho terminated his first book, summing up all the reigns he had been able to discover,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Manetho's Ninth.

<sup>3</sup> Manetho's Eleventh.

or invent, into a grand total of 2300 years and seventy days. It is clear that many of these Pharaohs reigned contemporaneously in different parts of Egypt; this chronology, therefore, is like adding up the several reigns attributed to English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh kings into one total, as the duration of a British monarchy before the union. Moreover the sum given is not the true total of the numbers in either text. Bunsen's elaborate manipulation results in reducing it by more than a half; and if the truth could be ascertained, it would probably require an abatement of some centuries more.

Whatever period of time may be really due to this first period of Egyptian history, its annals are as barren and vague as those of Britain before the invasion of Julius Cæsar. The First and perhaps the Second pyramids were erected at Memphis, as Stonehenge was upon the Wiltshire Downs; Chufu is scarcely more historical than Arthur, and the chronology is as hopeless in the one case as in the other. We might adopt the sarcastic remark of Sir George Lewis, that it would be quite as important to trace the descent of a breed of crocodiles, if there were not reason to believe that one of these obscure rulers was the Pharaoh who entertained Abraham during his brief visit into Lower Egypt. Africanus calls him Ramessemenes—a name apparently connected with the land of Rameses, an appellation of Goshen;<sup>1</sup> but no such king has been found in Manetho. Rameses, the city of the sun, seems to be connected with On and Heliopolis. It does not follow, however, that the country bore this name in the time of Abraham. In all probability, the father of the faithful did not ex-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 11.

tend his journey beyond the district where his flocks and herds would find the pasturage which they needed. Some writers are of opinion that Lower Egypt was already in the possession of the Shepherd kings, one of whom they suppose to have been Abraham's host. This hypothesis might be very necessary if the native Pharaohs were shown to be idolaters. But of this there is no evidence, and to Moses the Shepherd kings are as unknown as to the monuments. Lower Egypt seems, at this time, to have been more in danger from the rival Pharaohs of Thebes than from the strangers who play so prominent a part in the speculations of modern theorists. It was from the capital of Upper Egypt that its first rulers were overrun; and there is nothing improbable in the conjecture, that the idolatry which there attained strength was the leading agency in the invasion.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE PHARAONS OF THEBES.

*Ethiopian Connexion—Amenemha—XI. and XII. Dynasties—Monuments Idolatrous—Kings' Names—Two Shields—Standard Name—Synopsis of XII. Dynasty—Civilization—Epitaphs—Sesortasen—Sesostris—Joseph's Pharaoh—Painting in Nahar's Tomb—Not a Shepherd King—Joseph's History confirmed—His Administration—The Church's Messenger—Jacob brought down—Goshen—Introduced to Pharaoh—Blessing on Egypt—Jacob's Burial—Joseph's Death—Mæris—Labyrinth—Story of the Crocodile—Shepherd Invasion—Their Expulsion—Contradictions—Probable truth.*

THEBES, to which the priests of Amun assigned a foundation anterior to the days of the demigods and *manes*, makes its first appearance in an historical form with the Eleventh Dynasty of Manetho, when it is supposed to have succeeded to the power of This. As the city of Amun, it was the centre and capital of the Egyptian idolatry; and its connexion with Ethiopia renders it not improbable that its rites were partly derived from the interior of Africa, where a *fetichism* akin to the animal worship is still in existence. The first ruler whose name is preserved was Ammenemes, in the hieroglyphics Amenemha (beloved of Amun). He appears in Manetho as the last of the Eleventh Dynasty, but was more probably the founder of the Twelfth, the Eleventh representing his unknown ancestors. Manetho's second volume opened with the Twelfth Dynasty, and the tombs in the grottos of Beni Hassan seem to be the earliest monuments above Memphis. They offer a decided contrast to the plain



unsculptured pyramids, leaving no question that the Osirian worship was then fully matured in the Thebaid, and society already organized on the elaborate constitution of later days.

One of the first things that strikes us in this dynasty is the method of expressing the king's name. In the pyramids and tombs of the earlier Pharaohs, the name was expressed by a few *phonetic* characters, enclosed in a single ring which is called the cartouche, shield, or scutcheon; thus Menes, Chufu, Pipi. The Theban Pharaohs adopted *two* shields, surmounted by insignia after a fashion resembling modern heraldic bearings. Over the first shield stood the bee and plant of Upper and Lower Egypt, usually read "king of an obedient people," but used, like the crown above the royal arms, simply as the badge of sovereignty. The shield below bears invariably the sun's disk at the top, with some other *symbolical* signs making the *prenom* assumed by the monarch on coming to the throne; such as "guardian of truth," "beloved of Amun," "light of the world," etc. The second shield was surmounted by the goose and sun (read *Si-ra*, "son of the sun"), forming, as it were, the family crest of the Pharaohs. The shield itself was inscribed with the king's proper name *phonetically* expressed, and occasionally some other signs, serving as a "difference" to distinguish him from others of the same name.

There was yet a third blazonry called the "standard name," answering to the device assumed by the knights of chivalry. This was a group of *symbolical* signs embroidered on a banner, and surmounted by the royal insignia,—the crowned hawk of Horus, the asp, and the winged sun. The standard of Rameses the

Great displayed a bull with the image of the goddess Thmei, reading "the strong bull beloved of truth."<sup>1</sup>

The rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty are distinguished in Manetho by names having various Greek terminations; on the monuments they are all called either Amun-em-ha, or Osirtasen, which latter Lepsius prefers to read Sesortasen. The following is Bunsen's synopsis of the whole dynasty: <sup>2</sup>—

MANETHO.		ERATOSTHENES.		MONUMENTS.
	Yrs.		Yrs.	
I. Ammenemes, the last of the 11th Dynasty.	16	XXXII. Ammenemes .	26	Amun-em-ha (I.)
II. Sesonchosis his son . . . . .	46	XXXIII. Stammenemes	23	Sesortasen (I.)
III. Ammenemes .	38			Amun-em-ha (II.)
IV. Sesostris . . . .	48	XXXIV. Sistohermes .	55	Sesortasen (II.) Sesortasen (III.)
v. Lacharis, La- baris or La- mares . . . . .	8	} XXXV. Mares . . . . .	43	Amun-em-ha (III.)
VI. Amares . . . .	8			
VII. Ammenemes .	8			
VIII. Scemiophris his sister . . . .	4	.....		Amun-em-ha (IV.)
	Years 176		Years 147	

According to the authorities adduced by Bunsen, there were always two kings, generally an Amenemha and a Sesortasen, on the throne at the same time. Sesortasen I. was co-regent with the first two Amenemhas; Sesortasen II. with the second Amenemha and with Sesortasen III.; while the latter had the third

<sup>1</sup> The title of *bull* (lord of the herd) was assumed by ancient chiefs in the field, as that of *shepherd* designated the rule of a peaceful king.

<sup>2</sup> Some Egyptologists give the kings of this dynasty to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, which Manetho has left without names.

Amenemha for his colleague towards the end of a long reign.

If this dynasty reigned, as is generally supposed, two thousand years before Christ, the progress already made in the arts and institutions of civilized life is



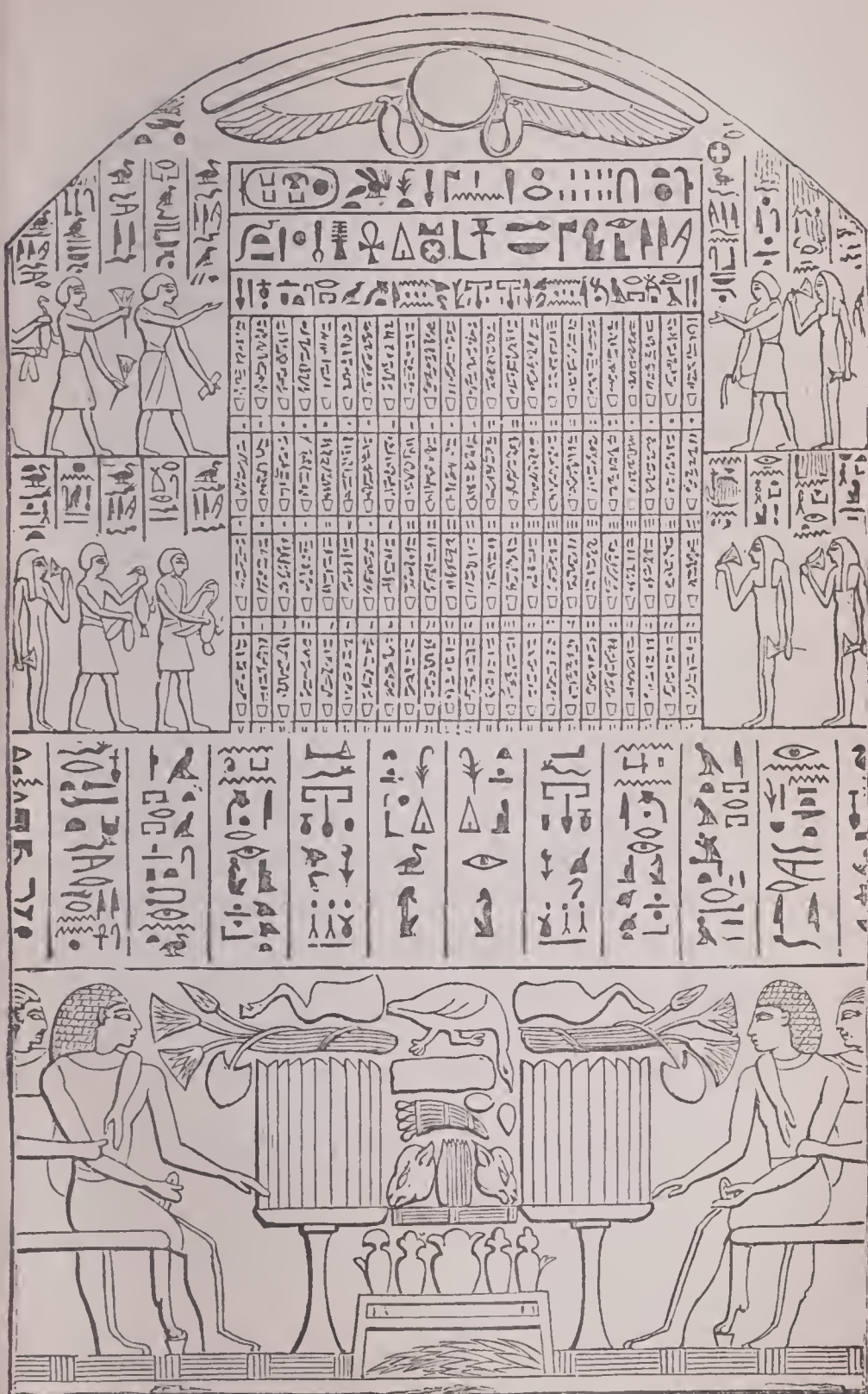
quite astonishing. The above cut presents a copy of a tablet in the British Museum, which formed the slab over the entrance of a tomb where a "chief of the prophets" lay interred. It represents his son and

successor in ceremonial dress, with the staff called *Pat* (the symbol of consecration) in one hand and a wand in the other, performing adoration to Osiris. The epitaph is translated by Mr. Osburn as follows: "Act of adoration to Osiris, lord of Amenti, the beholder of just and good works,<sup>1</sup> the great god, lord of Abydos, from the military chief president over the prophets, Sebeksén. The military chief presiding over the prophets Eneniotf, his son who loves him, who has enthroned him in his heart, has made (by this monument) the name of his father to live in Egypt. The chief president of the prophets, Sebeksén, born of the lady Oheb."

To the same period belongs the elaborate tombstone engraved on the opposite page. At the top is the winged globe, the emblem of *Horhat*, the good genius. The inscription in two horizontal lines below, reads from right to left, "In the nineteenth year of the king Sun of golden offerings (Amenemha II.), loving Osiris, lord of Abydos, giver of life and stability, like the sun for ever." The third line begins in the middle, reading both to the right and the left; to the right it runs, "house of blessing (the sepulchre) wine, milk, incense, oxen, and geese, have been offered by the constable of palace *Sevek-re* the justified;" to the left, "house of blessing, wine, milk, incense, oxen, geese, have been offered by the constable of the palace *Saotph*, son of Tese-nofre the justified." Each inscription refers to the figures beneath; on the right are the son and five daughters of *Sevek-re*, making the offerings indicated, and on the left the five sons and two daughters of *Saotph*. The names of each are over their heads, but

<sup>1</sup> Hence, perhaps, the eye (*iri*) in the hieroglyphic of Osiris, and possibly the name itself. It is a natural symbol for the sun, the *eye* of the heavens: see *Psa.* xix. 6.





some have been mutilated in cutting the slab to fit the entrance, and others are no longer legible. Over the first figure to the right is "the son who loves him, Sevek-re;" to the left, "the son who loves him performing the prescribed rites of sacrifice before his lord." The square tablet between the two groups is filled with columns of hieroglyphics, being complete lists of the various articles offered; "one vial containing liquid odours, one vase of incense," with other similar vessels, joints of meat, cauldrons and cooking vessels, ducks and geese, sauces, wines, and aromatic seeds are among the articles enumerated, and each column is added up at the foot. These oblations appear to have been repeated at fixed intervals, and formed a permanent charge on the estate. The language of the inscription seems to show that they were not offered to the spirit of the deceased, but, in his name, to Osiris; they were supposed, of course, to be beneficial to the departed, and, like the analogous masses for the dead, the revenue which they brought to the temples must have been considerable.

The twelve perpendicular columns of hieroglyphics which follow in larger characters divide in the middle, and contain two inscriptions relating to the figures seated beneath. One invokes Osiris on behalf of "Sevek-re and the wife who loves him, Tese-nofre;" the other is an act of adoration to Sev, the father of Osiris, in behalf of Saotph, the son of Tese-nofre. The figures on the right are Sevek-re and his wife Tese-nofre, on the left are Saotph and his wife Esonk, the daughter of Erpet. It is remarkable that Saotph, though succeeding Sevek-re in his office of constable, is described as the son of his wife, not of himself; only one son of his own appears on his monument, and he bears his

father's name. This might imply that the office was held in right of the lady, and descended to her son by a previous marriage. The two couples are seated on couches side by side, though his ignorance of perspective has obliged the artist to exhibit one before the other. From the same cause the offerings between them appear one above another. The design was to represent two tables (or altars) piled with loaves of bread (ten on each). Between them is a case of vessels containing the wine, milk, etc., above enumerated, with a large ear of Egyptian corn on the floor in front; behind the case, though in the drawing above it, are two bullocks' heads on a mat, with the livers between them. The other articles which appear between the altars are the kidneys and other viscera, surmounted by a goose, all of which, as well as the legs of beef and lotus flowers above the bread, are meant to be on the floor arranged about the altars.

These extraordinary works of art, starting into existence, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, without a note or symptom of preparation, must be admitted to prove a state of political and social organization far in advance of anything we have yet noticed. It is no less clear that the authority of this dynasty extended over all Egypt and considerable portions of Nubia. Sesortasen I., bearing the throne-name of *Ra-kheper-kar* ("sun offered to the world," or "sun creator of existence"), was engaged in continual expeditions into the latter country in order to obtain possession of the gold mines of the south. Northward his memorials are found as far as the copper-land of the peninsula of Sinai. He was, perhaps, the founder





of the temple of the sun at Heliopolis, where the oldest known obelisk is still standing, engraved with his name, and a column or two at Thebes are supposed to mark him as the author of the first temple of Amun. On these monuments he bears the title of "lord of the Upper and Lower countries : " an obelisk in the Faïoom describes him as "beloved of Phthah." It must be inferred that both the Memphite and Heracleopolitan Dynasties were reduced under his supremacy, and that he reigned supreme on either bank of the Nile.<sup>1</sup>

Among the conquests depicted in these sculptures, occurs the name of *Punt*, denoting, probably, an African people, who after a long struggle were subdued by the Egyptians. These were, perhaps, the descendants of Phut, or Put, the youngest son of Ham ;<sup>2</sup> and it is thought that they still survive in Northern Africa.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Osburn very naturally supposes that the sons of Ham took possession of the countries to which they emigrated in the order of seniority ; Canaan the eldest occupying the first district they came to from Shinar, Cush taking the next in the desert of Sinai, Mizraim pushing on to the Nile, and Phut being obliged to seek a home in the Great Sahara.<sup>4</sup> The



superior fertility of Egypt would naturally provoke the envy and hostility of the kindred nations, and the monuments represent them as in frequent conflict.

The second Sesortasen bore the throne-name of *Ra-sha-kheper* (sun crown of the world). His co-regent,

<sup>1</sup> The eastern bank was perhaps usually under the dominion of Thebes, and the western under Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. x. 6 ; 1 Chron. i. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Gosse's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, p. 28.



Amenemha II., called *Ra-nub-karu* (sun of golden offerings), is the king referred to in the epitaph of Sevek-ra. On his death a third Sesortasen succeeded as joint king, whose throne-name was *Ra-sha-karu* (sun crown of offerings.) One of these Sesortasens may have been the celebrated SESOSTRIS, of whom Manetho relates that "he conquered all Asia in nine years, and Europe as far as Thrace, everywhere erecting monuments of his victories." The same author states that he was the first monarch of note after Osiris. This expression might be well understood of Sesortasen I., but, according to Bunsen, the true Sesostris was Sesortasen III. (*Ra-sha-karu*.)



To this hero the Greeks undoubtedly ascribed some of the exploits of a later king, Rameses the Great, as well as many which were never performed at all. His existence has been denied on grounds by no means to be despised.<sup>1</sup> Yet the monuments seem to show that the Sesortasens were really powerful princes, and in that early period an army might perhaps be led into Asia with greater facility than in the time of Alexander the Great. Still it is very justly observed that while Sesostris is said to have taken Nineveh, and Semiramis to have overrun Egypt, in neither case do the annals of the *vanquished* people support the boast of the conqueror. The Babylonian monuments knew nothing of Sesostris, nor the Egyptian of Semiramis. We may fairly, then, doubt the extension of the Theban arms beyond the limits of the valley of the Nile. There

<sup>1</sup> See Sir G. C. Lewis's *Ancient Astronomy*, p. 349.

they appear to have been supreme, but probably without extinguishing the local Pharaohs.

A much more important question is raised by the painting in Nahar's tomb,<sup>1</sup> which has been supposed to be a contemporary representation of the migration of Israel into Egypt.

That Joseph's Pharaoh was one of the Sesortasens is the opinion both of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and Baron Bunsen. The former inclines to the first of the name, in whose reign occurred the famine mentioned in the epitaph of Ameni Amenemha, while Bunsen decides for Sesortasen III. He conceives this prince to be the great Sesostris, whose fame may be partly due to the policy of Joseph. The painting itself merits a more detailed description in this place. The occupant of the tomb, a noble of the military caste, is represented standing to receive a procession preceded by a scribe, who bears a scroll inscribed with the sixth year of Sesortasen II. The inscription is supposed to describe the persons presented as thirty-seven "vanquished strangers," but the interpretation is not certain, and the strangers are evidently not prisoners, being armed and unbound. Their chief is represented leading an ibex by the horn, and bowing low to the officer who receives him. His uncovered head exhibits his thick natural hair, and he is clothed in a tunic of bright colours and varied pattern. He carries a staff in his hand. Another of his company also leads an ibex; and then four men, armed with a bow and a spear, precede an ass on which two children are carried in panniers. A lad on foot bearing a lance walks next, then four females, another ass with panniers, and the remaining figures are a man

<sup>1</sup> See p. 58.

carrying a lyre, and another with a bow and a club.

The name of this strange people, though apparently given in the inscription, has not yet been satisfactorily made out. Their lighter colour and aquiline nose show them to be neither Egyptians, Africans, nor primitive Canaanites. The ibex denotes a *pastoral* tribe, Arabian or Palestinian, while the children in panniers clearly indicate the removal of a family. These striking coincidences make it extremely probable that the painting actually represents the Israelite immigration. It is true that the "wagons" which Joseph sent for the *little ones*<sup>1</sup> are wanting in the picture; but as it represents only a part of the procession, this objection is not decisive. In other respects the resemblance is striking; "the coat of many colours,"<sup>2</sup> "the bow,"<sup>3</sup> "the staff,"<sup>4</sup>—the latter, the more needful from his "halting upon his thigh,"<sup>5</sup> may well indicate Jacob himself; while the animals in front seem intended to proclaim the occupation of the visitors<sup>6</sup> rather than as presents, since an Egyptian ruler would account them unclean. The subject was not unlikely to find a place in the delineations of the day; we read that "the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants."<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, Josephus, to whom this picture was unknown, places his great namesake under one of the Shepherd kings. He is followed by Mr. Poole and others, who conceive that the deep aversion to foreigners would effectually preclude the elevation

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlviii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxii. 10; Heb. xi. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxii. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlvi. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlv. 16.

of a Hebrew in the court of a native Egyptian king.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is, however, liable to much greater difficulties. Joseph's retinue were Egyptians, to whom "every shepherd was an abomination."<sup>2</sup> He received from the king himself a native Egyptian name.<sup>3</sup> His purchaser and his father-in-law were Egyptians both in name and office; the chief butler and baker also are well-known officers in the household of an Egyptian king. The recourse to magicians, and the confidence reposed in dreams, might be common to both races; but the fine linen in which Joseph was clothed, the gold chain about his neck, the ring on his hand, the chariot, are all what the monuments show to be customary in the native court, but which would be very improbable under a Bedouin Arab. To meet this objection, it is assumed, without evidence and contrary to all probability, that the usurpers adopted the usages of the native Pharaohs. It seems impossible, however, to imagine that they should be on such terms with the native priest of On as to give his daughter in marriage to Joseph; or that, while accused of destroying the temples and suppressing the worship, they should yet have so respected the priests as to exempt their lands from the tribute laid upon all others. Moses certainly appears to have known nothing of the Hyksos; his account is altogether of a native Pharaoh.

Whoever the Pharaoh was, whom we venture to call Sesostris, he was probably keeping his court at Memphis, when the darling son of Jacob, then about seventeen years of age, was brought to the slave-market by the Arabs who had bought him of his

<sup>1</sup> Bible Dict.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xliii. 32; xlvi. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xli. 45.



hard-hearted brethren.<sup>1</sup> Inheriting his mother's beauty of face and figure,<sup>2</sup> the lad soon found a purchaser in the captain of Pharaoh's guard;—an appointment, in Lower Egypt, similar to one of those held by Ameni Amenemha in the Upper region. This officer's name was Potiphar, differing little from that of the priest of On, and one which is frequently found inscribed on the mummies. Its meaning is "of or belonging to the sun."

The youth became at once a favourite with his master, and being entrusted with important affairs, discharged them so satisfactorily that he was raised to the post of major domo. In this condition "the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake, and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had in the house and in the field."<sup>3</sup> Soon after, the young Hebrew showed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him under a peculiar trial; and it is remarkable that one of our few pieces of hieroglyphic literature is a moral tale entitled *The Two Brothers*, which was, perhaps, founded on this celebrated example of Hebrew virtue.

When cast into jail through false accusation, Joseph still retained the favour of God. His

<sup>1</sup> These merchantmen are called *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites* (Gen. xxxvii. 25—28), *i. e.*, the posterity of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah. The former, however, is thought to be a general name for Arabs; and this caravan, coming from Gilead with aromatic gums, largely used in Egypt for embalming, making incense, etc., were probably Midianites. The price paid for Joseph was twenty shekels of silver (Gen. xxxvii. 28), the sum appointed in the law as the value of a youth under twenty (Lev. xxvii. 5). Hence it seems that even thus early a regular tariff had obtained for this detestable traffic.—*Bible Dict.* p. 1133.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Gen. xxix. 17 with xxxix. 6; literally, "fair of form and fair in appearance."

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxix. 5.

remarkable tact for business soon drew the affairs of the whole prison under his control. His skill in interpreting dreams, then regarded as messengers from God, was reported to Pharaoh. Being summoned to the royal presence, he shaved himself and changed his raiment, in compliance with Egyptian etiquette, and answered the king's demand with modest piety: "It is not in me; God shall send Pharaoh an answer of peace."

It is certainly no proof of great civilization that no provision had as yet been made for storing up the surplus produce of abundant harvests. Pharaoh entrusted this work to the interpreter, whose sagacity had suggested it. Joseph thus found a field beyond his wildest hopes for the busy spirit that had prompted his youthful ambition,<sup>1</sup> but which trial and discipline had steadily subjected to the Spirit of God.<sup>2</sup> He was ennobled after the Egyptian custom with a title of honour: arrayed in the fine linen worn by grandees, and with the gold chain of office round his neck, he rode in the second chariot of state, while heralds ran before him proclaiming his titles. These scriptural details exhibit a picture of Egyptian state as vivid as the monuments themselves, and in exact conformity with their delineations.

A prominent feature in this dynasty is the custom of appointing *co-regents*, invested with the administration of the government on behalf of the sovereign, and even decorated with the royal titles and insignia. It was this exalted position, perhaps, and not the mere office of a vizier, that was conferred upon the young Hebrew, when Pharaoh took off the ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, saying, "See,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 5—10.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xli. 38.

I have set thee over all the land of Egypt: only in the throne will I be greater than thou." The name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, has been supposed to mean "worshipper of Neith;" but the etymology is uncertain, and it is more probably a Hebrew name, bestowed by himself after marriage, and signifying "fruitful."<sup>1</sup> Her father's name, Potipherah, and his office of "priest of On," seem to connect the family with the worship of Ra, the patron deity of that city. Joseph, however, never altered or dissembled his religious convictions. Conscious to whom he owed all the mercies of his eventful career,<sup>2</sup> we cannot doubt that he would communicate his faith to the partner of his earthly happiness, and, after the example of his great-grandfather, "command his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD."<sup>3</sup>

Sesostris was renowned for the construction of numerous canals; and his name has been found in the course of the celebrated channel anciently cut from Bubastis to the Red Sea. It is by no means improbable that his fame in this respect was derived from the improvements undertaken by his Hebrew administrator. The great canal or arm of the Nile, which conducts its fertilizing waters into the district of the Faioom, still bears the name of "Joseph's River;" he may also have been the designer of the embankments by which the lake was enlarged and deepened. Another of the famous works attributed to Sesostris was the partitioning of the land into fields, subjecting all, except the estates of the temples and the nobility, to a fixed payment to the crown. This tradition would certainly appear to refer to the policy of Joseph described in the book of Genesis.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xli. 52: see Bible Dict.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxix. 2, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xviii. 19; i. 24; comp. Heb. xi. 22.



The surplus produce having been cheaply bought during the seven successive "good Niles," was laid up "under the hand of Pharaoh" till "the seven years of dearth began to come." The people, resorting to the royal stores, bought the produce of their own former sales. When their money was gone they exchanged their cattle, and finally their land, for food. They then offered to sell themselves, but<sup>1</sup> Joseph, with as much wisdom as humanity, declined the fatal purchase. Egypt was thus spared the wasting curse of a slave population, and the native labour was employed in a milder and more remunerative form. The lands acquired to the crown were restored to the people as tenants, though, to preserve the crown right, they were not suffered to resume their former freeholds, but were removed, probably in village communities, to other districts. The cattle doubtless remained on the land, and Joseph advanced seed for its cultivation, reserving a fifth of the produce as the crown rent. The extraordinary fertility of Egypt, and the cheapness of necessities, rendered this tax by no means oppressive. In India the ordinary proportion, under the Hindu princes, was a sixth, and in times of war a fourth.<sup>2</sup> The Mussulman conquerors exacted a half.

These regulations did not affect the extensive estates of the temples,<sup>3</sup> nor, probably, those of the nobles or military caste, whose resources would protect them against the last extremity. The traces of Joseph's administration were thus indelibly stamped on the institutions of Egypt, and the whole narrative plainly evidences its writer to be one who combined the feelings of a Hebrew with the local knowledge of an Egyptian.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> "India: Natives and Missions," p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvii. 22.



With all his temporal greatness, Joseph was but a messenger sent before to prepare a way for the church of God. To Abraham the Divine hand was very conspicuous, in leading him in the way which he should go; but Jacob was conducted to his destiny by the common, though not less divinely ordered, guidings of daily life. The famine, though "called upon the land"<sup>1</sup> for one specific object, did its work gradually and naturally. The patriarch's bereavement, his necessities and natural affections, were combined with the fierce unscrupulous character of his sons, to lead him darkly forward till the moment when the long sorrow was lifted up, and his drooping heart roused by the tidings—"Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt."

A little incident here supplies one of those undesigned coincidences which are so justly deemed the most convincing of internal evidences. The old man was slow to credit the marvellous story; but "when he saw the *wagons* which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived: and Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die." This is the first mention of wheeled carriages;—an Egyptian invention which Jacob had never seen. The monuments represent them as drawn both by oxen and horses, and in very general use.

Though willing, for Joseph's sake, to resume his pilgrim's staff, Jacob could hardly have found himself about to quit the promised land without experiencing some misgiving. God was pleased, therefore, to appear to him in a vision, and encourage him by the promise to make of him a great nation, and bring it up again

<sup>1</sup> Psa. cv. 16.

after Joseph should have put his hand on the patriarch's eyes.<sup>1</sup> "So Israel came into Egypt, and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham."

The little colony halted in the land of Goshen; a district evidently situated between the place of Joseph's residence and the frontier of Palestine,<sup>2</sup> probably on the eastern border of the Delta. It was the "best of the land" for pastoral purposes, and where the king's own cattle were kept.<sup>3</sup> It was also within three days' journey of the Red Sea.<sup>4</sup> These indications seem to place the land of Goshen in the valley now called *Wadi-t-Tumeylat*, along which anciently flowed the canal of the Red Sea.<sup>5</sup>

Here Joseph met his aged father, "and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive." Thence he conducted him, with five of his brethren, to the presence of Sesostris; and when the monarch, apparently struck by the patriarch's venerable appearance, inquired his age, Jacob answered, "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage."<sup>6</sup> Isaac, we read, was 180 years old, and Abraham 175; but the greatest age found in the Egyptian annals is that attributed to the centenarian Phiops. Sesostris, doubtless, marvelled not a little at the hardy mountaineer who could speak so disparagingly of *six* score years and ten. The longest life, however, as Jacob well knew, is still but a "pilgrimage;" and he "looked for a city

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlv. 2—4.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlv. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvii. 5—11.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xiii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Diet. Bible, p. 711.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlvii. 9, 10.

which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.”<sup>1</sup> “And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh.”

Egypt was now—what it has often been since, and what the world, its antitype, will always be—the casket to hold the precious treasure of God’s church; and the LORD dealt with its monarch as he had dealt with Potiphar and the keeper of the prison for Joseph’s sake: “he made all that he did to prosper.” This is the best explanation of the sudden brilliancy that illumines this portion of the Egyptian annals. The lavish expenditure on public improvements, and on works of art, is accounted for by the sums poured into the royal treasury by the nations who came to buy food in Egypt. Their necessities would further minister to Pharaoh’s ambition, by facilitating the extension of his arms in the adjacent countries; but in all probability the warlike traditions connected with Sesostris really belong to Rameses. Joseph’s Pharaoh derived his renown from the triumphs of peace: Manetho speaks of him as second only to Osiris, the dispenser of grain and the teacher of arts and civilization.

Seventeen years after Jacob’s arrival Joseph was summoned to attend his father’s death-bed. Having listened to his prophetic utterances, and received that last affectionate charge in which the dying patriarch, struck perhaps by his personal resemblance to his mother, recalled the memory of her untimely end, “Joseph fell upon his father’s face, and wept upon him, and kissed him.” The body was embalmed with Egyptian honours, and lamented with a royal mourning of seventy days. The grottos of Beni Hassan, how-

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 10.

ever, were not to receive this venerated mummy. It was carried in solemn procession into Canaan and across the Jordan,—as if foreshadowing the future march of his people,—and laid up in the burying-place of Abraham; “in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying-place; <sup>1</sup>—“the field,” as it is expressed with legal precision, “and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field and in the hedges.” <sup>2</sup> “There,” said the patriarch on his far distant death-bed—“there they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.” <sup>3</sup> “Bury me not in Egypt: but I will lie with my fathers.” <sup>4</sup> This sepulchral cave—Abraham’s first and only freehold in Canaan—is now covered by the mosque whose massive walls form the chief object of notice at Hebron. While we write, its situation has been verified by the royal heir of the British crown; and the day may come when, like the sepulchres of Egypt, its secrets shall be disclosed, and the wondering eyes of posterity will behold the sacred relics of men who conversed with angels and with God.

After this last testimony of the filial affection which formed so prominent a feature in Joseph’s pure and noble character, he returned to the court of Pharaoh. Continuing to discharge the mission which he ever recognised in the goodness of a gracious Providence to himself, he comforted his brethren, and made provision for their families in the best of the land of Egypt. <sup>5</sup> He closed his eventful life at the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlix. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxiii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlix. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xlvii. 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlv. 5; 1. 20, 21; Psa. cv. 17.



age of 110 years, taking his place with his last breath among "the great cloud of witnesses," by a solemn charge to his brethren to carry up his embalmed remains to the promised land when God should visit them, according to his word.<sup>1</sup>

The last two rulers of this dynasty are called Amenemha on the monuments. Eratosthenes represents them by the single name *Mares*, which, like the *Mæris* of Herodotus, is perhaps borrowed from the *Moure* or "southern water" of the Faioom district. Manetho's appellations of *Lamaris*, *Labaris*, and *Lacharis*, are probably corruptions of the same word. "He erected the Labyrinth,"



says this historian, "as a tomb for himself," and the fact has been proved by the recent discovery of his prenomen<sup>2</sup> Ma-n-Re on the foundation of the ruin. The throne names of Amenemha III. and IV. are nearly the same: Lepsius has found also a standard name for the last;—*Khepera* (the three beetles).

The Labyrinth contains another royal name, read *Seveknefru* (the good crocodile), whom Bunsen supposes to have been a co-regent of Amenemha III. It may possibly, however, be another name for Amenemha himself, referring to his mythical rescue by a crocodile, in memory of which the city and labyrinth were built.<sup>3</sup> Pliny seems to allude to this story when he ascribes



<sup>1</sup> Gen. i. 25; Heb. xi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The symbol of the deity (Re) though written first is read last. "The signification may be justified or approved by the Sun."

<sup>3</sup> See p. 77.

the Labyrinth to a king *Petesuchis*, a word which means "favoured by the crocodile." We may compare it with the counter-legend of the adjoining district of Heracleopolis, where the ichneumon was the sacred animal, and the crocodile the emblem of evil. Such stories, however, are the offspring of the superstition of which they pretend to assign the parentage.

Amenemha was very probably a votary of the crocodile, since mummies of the creature were sepulchred in the Labyrinth in the time of Herodotus. The building, as it then existed, he described as surpassing all the public edifices of Greece, and more wonderful than the Pyramids. According to Pliny, it was the model on which Dædalus constructed the labyrinth at Crete. This magnificent edifice, however, was the work of the Twelve princes many centuries later. Amenemha's structure was probably very inferior, though not unworthy of the stupendous architecture of his day. His name is also connected with some extensive improvements in the embankments of the celebrated Lake, of which Joseph was very probably the original designer. The site of the Labyrinth discovered in the Faïoom by the expedition under Napoleon I. has been more thoroughly explored by Lepsius, who succeeded in finding the throne name *Ra-n-ma* on the blocks of the ruins and on the pyramid, and in thus identifying it as the burying-place of Amenemha.

Moëris was the last in the list of kings beginning with Menes, which the priests recited to Herodotus; and Amenemha may be considered as the Sardanapalus of the early Pharaohs. While he was lavishing his treasures on the embellishment of his new city, and sunk in the luxuries of an advanced civilization, the warlike nomads of the Asiatic border, attracted by the

wealth created by the policy of Joseph, were daily drawing nearer to the accomplishment of their wishes. The Theban conquests had weakened the local governments, and doubtless there had been many a Bedouin inroad before the famous Shepherd invasion. Of this event, Manetho's account, in the passage preserved by Josephus, is to the following effect:—

“In the reign of a certain king *Timaus*, Egypt lay under the Divine displeasure, and on a sudden men from the east country, of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land. They easily got possession of it, and established themselves without a struggle, making the rulers thereof tributary to them, burning their cities, and demolishing the temples of their gods. All the natives they treated in the most barbarous manner; some they put to death, others they reduced to slavery with their wives and children. Subsequently they chose a king out of their own body, *Salatis* by name. He established himself at Memphis, took tribute from the Upper and Lower regions, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. He fortified more especially the eastern frontier, foreseeing that the Assyrians, whose power was then at its height, would make an attempt to force their way into the empire from that quarter. He found in the Sethroite nome a city particularly well adapted for that purpose, lying to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, called *Avaris*, from some old mythological fable. This he rebuilt and fortified with strong walls, placing in it a garrison of 240,000 heavy-armed soldiers. In summer he visited it in person, for the purpose of furnishing his troops with a fresh supply of provisions, paying their salaries, and practising military exercises, by which to strike terror into the foreigners. He



died after a reign of nineteen years, and was succeeded by another king, *Beon* by name, who reigned forty-four years. After him *Apachnas* reigned thirty-six years and seven months; then *Apophis*, sixty-one years; then *Jonias*, fifty years and one month; and lastly, *Assis*, forty-nine years and two months. These six were their first rulers. They were continually at war, with a view of utterly exhausting the strength of Egypt. The general name of their people was *Hyksos*, which means 'shepherd kings;' for *Hyk* signifies in the sacred language a king, and *Sos*, in the demotic, is *shepherd* and *shepherds*. Some say they were Arabs."

Josephus proceeds:—"The above-mentioned kings and their posterity reigned over Egypt, as Manetho states, 511 years. After this the kings of the Thebaid, and of the other parts of Egypt, revolted against the Shepherds, whereupon a great and long protracted war ensued. Under a king called *Misphragmuthosis* the Shepherds were defeated, and not only driven out of the rest of Egypt, but blockaded in Avaris. The son of *Misphragmuthosis*, *Thummosis*, endeavoured to take this city by siege, and encamped before the walls with 480,000 men. At last, giving up all hope of reducing it by assault, he entered into a treaty with them, by virtue of which they were to withdraw from Egypt, and have a safe conduct to any place they should choose. So they decamped from Egypt through the desert to Syria, with all their families and effects, not less than 240,000 persons. Fearing the power of the Assyrians, who were then dominant in Asia, they built in Judea a city large enough to contain so many thousands, and called it Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jos. cont. Apion, lib. 1, c. xi. 14, 15.



In adducing this story as referring to his own ancestors the Jews, Josephus is suspected of having corrupted the text to suit his mistaken hypothesis. Certainly the first founders of Jerusalem were not the Jews, but the Jebusites, a Canaanite nation, from whom it was captured by David.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus heard nothing of the Shepherd invasion, beyond a tradition which ascribed the Greek pyramid to the shepherd Philitis; neither is it mentioned by any other Greek author. No traces have ever been discovered of the great city Avaris; nor has so much as a single grave been identified with this foreign Asiatic race. The sole authorities for their existence are this extract from Manetho, and the lists of Africanus and Eusebius, which differ widely both from Josephus and from each other.

Africanus has three foreign dynasties (Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth); one of "foreign Phœnician kings, who took Memphis;" a second of "Hellenic Shepherd kings," called *Hyksos*; and a third of "Shepherd kings and Theban Diospolites." The only names are those of the first, which are given as *Saitis*, *Bnon*, *Pachnan*, *Staan*, *Archles*, and *Aphobis*. The last being the same with that of the centenarian Phiops or Apappus, could hardly have belonged to a "foreign Phœnician." Eusebius gives but one Shepherd dynasty (Seventeenth), which he entitles, "Brothers, Phœnicians, Foreigners." Their names are four, *Saitis*, *Bnon*, *Archles*, and *Aphobis*.<sup>2</sup> The Fifteenth Dynasty he makes to be "Diospolitans," and the Sixteenth "Thebans."

Out of this confusion it is impossible to extract any authentic history. All that appears clear is that the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. v. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> In the Armenian version the last two are transposed.

power of Thebes was shattered, and Lower Egypt temporarily deluged, by a horde of nomads, some of whose chiefs established themselves in Memphis, and levied tribute on the neighbouring states. Xoïs, a strong city in the Delta, maintained its independence, and appears in Manetho as the seat of the Fourteenth Dynasty. Thebes was protected in the narrow valley of Upper Egypt, and there a Thirteenth Dynasty is entered, though without any names. It was, perhaps, a rival house to that of Amenemha. Other princes asserted their authority in different places. How long this confusion continued we are unable to conjecture ; but the native forces eventually rallied to the standard of Thebes, and under the successor of Amenemha the strangers were driven out of Memphis, and the Theban supremacy established on a wider and firmer footing than before. For none of these events, however, do the monuments supply any evidence, nor are there any means whatever of approximating to the chronology, save by a conjectural connexion with the Scripture history.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE COPTIC MONARCHY.

*Dynasties XVIII. to XX.—Amosis—New Lists compared with Monuments—King who knew not Joseph—Amosis—Amunoph I.—Thothmes I.—Pharaoh's Daughter—Thothmes III.—House of Bondage—Brickworks—Amunoph III.—Sacerdotal Honours—Horus—Succession interrupted—Ramessu I.—Manetho's Tradition of Exodus—Truer Tradition at Heliopolis—The reigning Pharaoh—Comparison with Scripture—Revolution—Restoration—Ægyptus and Danaus—Intercourse with Greece—Error of Menophres—Proteus—Military Organization—Fall of Thebes.*

THE true history of the Ancient Egyptian monarchy is comprised in that of Manetho's Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties;—a period of sufficient antiquity, duration, and splendour, when stripped of the exaggerations derived from the fabulous legends of previous times. The earlier Pharaohs were rulers of petty states, and though a temporary ascendancy was acquired by Thebes under the Twelfth Dynasty, it seems to have been broken up by internal divisions, and was rolled back upon its source by the Shepherd invasion. The fugitives from Lower Egypt and the Delta found safety in the rocky valley of the Thebaid; after a time the Theban Pharaohs again took the lead in a war at once for independence and for sovereignty. The first whose name emerges from the cloud is Amos, Amosis, or Aahmes, "the son of the moon." His scutcheon appears on the genealogical tablet of Karnak with only one ancestor, Menmoth, between him and Menes, indicating probably the line by which his blood was traced to the traditional founder of the nation.<sup>1</sup> On the tablet of Abydos he is the immediate

<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that his ancestral line was traced through Manetho's Thirteenth Dynasty, of which we have no names.

successor of Amenemha, and was probably elected to the vacant throne on the failure of the reigning house.<sup>1</sup>

The wealth and power of the royal line which he inaugurated are attested by a continuous series of contemporaneous monuments. In fact, the great bulk of Egyptian antiquities belong to these kings. They were the authors of the immense constructions at Karnak and Luxor, and all the principal cities contain remains of their palaces, temples, and obelisks. The scale on which these works were planned and executed proves a command of money and labour wholly inconsistent with any theory which supposes the monarchy to have just emerged from a subjugation of many centuries under a barbarous invader. The authors of these monuments evidently possessed extraordinary supplies both of men and material; and the sacred narrative alone suggests the sources from which they were obtained. The administration of Joseph had opened out means of wealth which the Amenemhas could not exhaust, nor the forays of the Hyksos more than superficially affect. On the other hand, the reduction of the Hebrews to a state of servitude furnished an unlimited amount of labour. Viewed in this light, these monuments, like many other trophies of human greatness, are memorials of the crimes, even more than the talents, of their authors.

In spite, however, of the numerous and costly works by which they sought to perpetuate their memory, these Pharaohs have not escaped the shadows which envelope all Egyptian antiquity. Little beyond the name is known of any, and in many cases the name itself is apocryphal. Manetho is the sole historian, and the following shows the result of the long and laborious

<sup>1</sup> Africanus reckons him the last of the Twelfth Dynasty, but he may be regarded as the founder of the Eighteenth.





## NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

MANETHO, according to		MONUMENTS, with highest year found.	Years accord- ing to Bunsen. Length of reign
AFRICANUS.	EUSEBIUS.		
Yrs.	Yrs.		
		I. RAMESSU (I.) son of <i>Titi</i> and <i>Ai</i> ..... 2	9
I. Sethos..... 51	I. Sethos..... 55	II. SETEI (I.) ...	12
II. Rapsaces ..... 61	II. Rampses .... 66	III. RAMSES <i>the</i> <i>Great</i> ..... 62	66
III. Ammenephthes 20	III. Amenephthes 40	IV. MENPTAH (Menephthah) 4 (same as No. III.)	20
IV. Rameses ..... 60	IV. Ammenemes 26	(Amenemes, coun- ter king to	
V. Ammenemes .. 5		V. SETEI (II.) ..	5
VI. Thuoris <sup>1</sup> ..... 7	Thuoris <sup>1</sup> ... 7	<i>Merira</i> , Progeni- tor of Dynasty XX.....	
Years 204	Years 194	Years	112

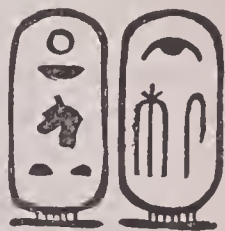
<sup>1</sup> "In Homer, Polybus, the husband of Alkandra, in whose time Troy was taken."

## TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

## TWELVE DIOSPOLITAN KINGS—185 YEARS.

- I. Merr-Ra (Set-nekht) Merr-  
amu..... Phuoro Nilus (Proteus) 7 years.
- II. Ramessu Hek-pen ..... Ramses III. son, 16 years.
- III. Ramessu Mer-amn-hek-ma. Ramses IV. brother.
- IV. Ramessu Amnhikhepshf Ne-  
ter-hek-pen ..... Ramses V. brother.
- V. Ramessu Amnhikhepshf Ne-  
ter-hek-pen ..... Ramses VI. brother.
- VI. Ramessu Amnhikhepshf Merr-  
Set ..... Ramses VII. brother.
- VII. Ramessu Shama Merr-amn.. Ramses VIII. son of Ramses VI.
- VIII. Ramessu Merr-amn Hek-amn Ramses IX.
- IX. Ramessu Shama Merr-ma  
Hek-neter-pen ..... Ramses X. 18 years (papyrus).
- X. Ramessu Amnhikhepshf.... Ramses XI.
- XI. Ramessu Amnhikhepshf  
Merr-amn ..... Ramses XII.
- XII. [Ramessu] Hek-ma Satp.-n-  
ra Amnhikhepshf ..... Ramses XIII.

Amosis or Aahmes was, in all probability, the king who took Memphis from the Shepherds, and compelled them to retreat into their fortified camp at Avaris. This exploit was accomplished before the twenty-second year of his reign, at which time it appears from an inscription in the quarries of Maasera that he caused stone to be cut for building temples to Phthah, Apis, and Amun in the capital of Lower Egypt. The earlier part of his reign was doubtless spent in warfare, since the monuments record that he fought many battles both by land *and sea*. His naval engagements were of course on the Red Sea, by which the Hyksos communicated with Arabia.



He is generally supposed to be "the new king who knew not Joseph"<sup>1</sup>—a description exactly suited to his character as a Theban prince, of a rival house to the Sesortasens, and entering Lower Egypt as a conqueror more than a deliverer. The friendly relations of the Hebrews with the Shepherd tribes, and their location in the land of Goshen, between himself and his newly expelled enemy, would naturally awaken his apprehensions. In a future engagement they might unite with the foe, and prove too strong for the natives. The language ascribed to the new king in the book of Exodus suggests the thought that the Hebrews had already betrayed some disposition to return towards their ancestral country—"Lest it come to pass that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, *and so get them up out of the land.*"<sup>2</sup> Such an accession to the frontier tribes might bring them back in an irresistible wave. To prevent this Amosis resolved to reduce the Israel

<sup>1</sup> Exod. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. i. 10.

ites to servitude, thereby strengthening the frontier on which they were situated, and increasing his own resources for the war. "They built for him treasure cities (*i.e.*, fortresses), Pithom and Raamses," probably at the two extremities of the Goshen valley. Raamses, signifying the city of the sun, was probably not far from Heliopolis.

*Chebros* or *Chebron*, who follows Amosis in the lists, is said by Josephus to have been his son: he was therefore so described by Manetho. But as no such king appears on the monuments, Baron Bunsen considers it to be the prenomen of Amosis himself, expressed by the sign for gold (*gnub*), and the horse's head denoting watchfulness. The objection to such exercises of modern ingenuity is that they utterly destroy the credit of the author they pretend to illustrate. Manetho was better acquainted with the monuments than any explorers of our day; if he was capable of swelling his regal succession by entering the two shields of the same king, as father and son, what reliance can be placed on his remaining statements?

The next king, Amenophis or Amunhept (I.), derives his name, like the Amenembas of the preceding dynasty, from the patron deity of Thebes. Though a warlike and victorious ruler, this monarch is chiefly distinguished by the religious honours paid to his memory. All the Theban kings appear to have affected the priestly functions while living, and to have been honoured as divine after death. In some cases they were the objects of direct adoration. In the quarries of Silsilis, Amunoph is seen receiving incense in company with





Atmoo: another inscription unites him with Amun, Ra, and Osiris; there was even a special order of priests consecrated to his service. The wife of Amunoph I. was an Ethiopian named *Nofre-are*,<sup>1</sup> a princess held in great respect, perhaps from having brought with her into Egypt an hereditary claim to the possession of her native land.

Amunoph's successor, Amensis or Aahmes, appears on the monuments with the dress and attributes of a king, but with the feminine prefix in the inscriptions. This has induced an opinion that she was a queen-regent; and Lepsius thinks he has discovered her to be the daughter and heir of the last king, who bestowed her hand and throne on her cousin Thothmes (I.) The enormous pile at Karnak, commenced by this king, must be allowed to prove that the Hyksos no longer levied tribute or inspired alarm. Their complete expulsion, however, was reserved for a later reign.



After Thothmes I. appears another female Pharaoh, who has "given rise to more doubts and questions than any other sovereign of the Dynasty."<sup>2</sup> Sir Gardner Wilkinson reads the hieroglyphics which compose her name, *Amun-net-gori*; but Bunsen, reversing the signs on the authority of Lepsius, decides in favour of *Makarra Numt Amun*. Their ex-



<sup>1</sup> *Nofre*, "good," expressed by a lute, seems to have been a conventional title for ladies, equivalent, perhaps, to "fair" in our language; though, as this queen was a *negress*, the adjective did not carry with it our idea of female attractiveness.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, i. 52. Sharpe imagines her to be Nitocris, the last of the Memphite line.



planation is that she was the daughter of the last king, and co-regent for her brother Thothmes II., who was also her husband.<sup>1</sup> Her maiden name was *Hatasu*. She has the title of "Pharaoh's daughter" on the monuments, and was clearly invested with royal authority. She continued in office during the earlier part of the reign of Thothmes III., supposed to be a younger brother who succeeded in his minority; but her rule was for some reason so displeasing to that monarch, that, on attaining to the personal exercise of his power, he caused her name to be erased from most of the monuments which she had erected.<sup>2</sup>

Numt Amun was the author of the small temple at Medinet Aboo, the elegant edifice under the Qoorneh rocks, and the great obelisks of Karnak, one of which, still standing, exhibits her name uneffaced in conjunction with Thothmes III. The youthful king is depicted on his knees before Amun-ra, who places his hand on his head. The deity is repeated down the side of the obelisk, and on the opposite face the sovereign is offering wine and incense. The dedication is mostly in the name of Numt Amun. This obelisk is of rose granite, ninety feet high, and a marvel of Egyptian art. The figures are as fine as cameos,

<sup>1</sup> The odious custom of marriages between brothers and sisters is said to have been borrowed by the Persian kings from Ancient Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to accept that part of the hypothesis which supposes the Misaphris of Manetho to denote this princess when co-regent to Thothmes II., and Misphragmuthosis *the same person* in the reign of Thothmes III. These are obviously intended for the names of two kings; and as Manetho could not be ignorant of the succession on the monuments, it is more reasonable to suppose that they were some of the appellations of Thothmes II. and III.

appearing to be impressed with a seal, instead of being chiselled out of the hardest stone. It was perhaps at this time that Amun, the tutelar deity of Thebes, was dignified by the addition of Ra, and proclaimed "king of the gods,"—a device which there is reason to think was resorted to in order to consolidate the Theban sway, and complete the expulsion of the Shepherds.

It is not improbable that Numt Amun was "the Pharaoh's daughter" who had pity upon the infant Moses, and nourished him up as her son; and her disgrace may have been connected with his repudiation of the royal service and subsequent flight into Arabia. If so, the cruel tyrant was Thothmes III., the Thummosis of Josephus, and the Mispfragmuthosis of Manetho, by whom the Shepherds were finally compelled to quit Egypt. Instead of a reign of twenty-six years assigned him in the Lists, the thirty-fifth has already been found on the monuments, during which the iron entered into the soul of the unhappy Israelites. His features, sculptured in a colossal head at the British Museum, exhibit decided traces of the negro physiognomy, derived probably, with its attendant ferocity, from his Ethiopian grandmother. He is said to have followed the retreating tribes into Asia; and the monuments abound in representations of his victories over a white people called *Rotnno*, supposed to have dwelt between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas. He is even said to have reduced Babylon and Nineveh;—exploits which may be regarded as apocryphal until confirmed by the records of those cities. In Ethiopia, where he had hereditary pretensions, his campaigns were conducted with great success. They



were possibly the wars in which, according to Josephus, Moses commanded a military force and won several victories.

The glory of this long reign was cherished for many a century. The statistical tablet is still extant at Karnak, on which the results of its numerous expeditions were inscribed. According to Bunsen, this was the tablet which the priests showed to the Emperor Germanicus, when he visited the banks of the Nile: they "read from it the tributes levied on the nations, the weight of gold and silver, the number of arms and horses, ivory and perfumes as gifts to the temples, and the stores of corn and other useful products which each nation paid; not less magnificent (observes the Latin historian) than are now enjoyed by Parthian violence or by Roman power."<sup>1</sup>

The empire, which heard with amazement of the former greatness of its subject province, has itself long since fallen into the "sere and yellow leaf" of decay, yet the name of Thothmes is still perpetuated at Rome. The obelisk in front of St. John Lateran, the highest in the world,<sup>2</sup> and covered from top to bottom with exquisite sculptures, was erected at Heliopolis in the reign of this king, the lateral inscriptions being added by his successor. Constantine had it conveyed to Alexandria, whence his son transported it to Rome. Four empires successively rose and fell in Egypt while this mysterious column stood pointing "with silent finger up to heaven;" but a yet deeper interest is excited by the thought that it preserves the memorial of the power which first exalted itself against

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Annal, ii. 60. The inscription, however, seems to have related to Rameses, not Thothmes; Sir G. C. Lewis (p. 352) considers it to have been manifestly fabulous.

<sup>2</sup> 105 feet.



the church of the living God, and by its signal humiliation was made to declare his name throughout the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The great sphinx at Ghizeh is probably another of this Pharaoh's works, designed, perhaps, to commemorate the final incorporation of the country of the pyramids with the dominions of Thebes. By the Greeks he was confounded with Mœris, the supposed author of the Faïoom Lake—a mistake which may have originated in his appellation of *Mai-re* (beloved of Ra). The lake, as we have seen, was a natural mere, and the story of its excavation by the hand of man a fable. Many rulers before Thothmes had contributed to the embankments, by which its area was enlarged and deepened, but it is not improbable that large sums were expended in further improvements during this long and prosperous reign.

Of all the monuments and traditions of this celebrated Pharaoh, none is so interesting to ourselves as the remarkable painting in the tomb of his architect, Rekshare, which is thought to represent the hard usage of the children of Israel in Egypt. It is an accurate illustration of the "house of bondage" as described by Moses; and in all probability an actual portrait of the children of Israel at their labours. "The physiognomy of the Jews," Mr. Osburn thinks, "it is impossible to mistake." They are engaged in the labour described in the Bible, of making brick; their bodies are splashed with the clay; and their service is obviously exacted "with rigour."<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the picture sits an Egyptian "taskmaster," with his baton ready to enforce obedience; and on the right two of these functionaries are seen beaten by their superior, and

<sup>1</sup> Exod. ix. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. i. 13.

compelled themselves to perform the task which they had allowed the bondsmen to pretermitt.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians are clearly distinguished by their colour, and peculiar head-dress: the superior is not improbably the architect himself, in whose tomb the incident was delineated.

There was a time when it was objected to the Mosaic narrative that the Egyptian monuments are of *stone*, not brick; but further explorations have laid open vast structures of brick, which, being baked only in the sun, had chopped straw mixed with the clay, in order to strengthen their consistency. The straw is often found in very small quantity, indicating, perhaps, a difficulty in procuring it.<sup>2</sup> Many of these bricks have been brought to England, having the name of Thothmes III. stamped upon them. In this painting the inscription explains the subject to be "captives brought by the Pharaoh to build the temples of the

great gods." It would appear, therefore, that the family of Joseph were not only reduced to servitude, but, in open defiance of the Lord God of their ancestors, compelled to labour in the service of the new king of gods, Amun-ra.

A second Amunoph and a fourth Thothmes appear on the monuments, who, according to Bunsen's arrangement, were unknown to the Lists. The latter, however, is probably the Touthmosis who reigned nine years, the seventh of which is found on the monuments.



<sup>1</sup> Exod. v. 6-13.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. v. 12.

Amunoph III. was the monarch whose name is seen on the two lions in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum. They were brought from the sacred hill of Barkal, whither they had been removed from the temple of Soleb. At the latter place the names of forty vanquished Ethiopian tribes are inscribed. A granite statue in the Louvre also records the triumphs of this king, by whom the southern boundary of the empire was extended as far as the island of Argo, in lat.  $19^{\circ} 12'$ . He was the builder of the two vast palaces that bear his name on either side of the Nile at Thebes. In the Luxor ruin is a representation of the incarnation of the deity, where the features of Amunoph are given to the infant god. The ceremonies of the royal purification and coronation are minutely delineated on the same structure. The Pharaoh receives the Pschent in the presence of Amun-ra, and is afterwards seen "running in" with libations and sacrifices. The imposing rows of crio-sphinxes between Luxor and Karnak bear the name of the same monarch, and to him was due the still more magnificent avenue on the western bank, where the colossal statues now sitting in isolated grandeur formed the entrance of the dromos which led up to a stupendous palace temple. The northernmost of the two colossi is the celebrated "speaking statue" which the Greeks called Memnon, and imagined to be the image of Homer's Ethiopian king, the son of Aurora and Tithonus, who came with a body of 10,000 men to aid his uncle Priam at the siege of Troy. It is really the statue of Amunoph, and its companion is his wife.



Two similar statues of this king, though of less dimensions, in the British Museum, afford favourable examples of the quiet grandeur attained by Egyptian art, from the simplicity of its aim. They sit in a position of perfect repose, looking straight before them, and without any attempt at expression in face or figure; but “they never fail to please the skilful beholder, and have at all times been praised by the best judges, ancient as well as modern.”<sup>1</sup> Several other heads of Amunoph may be seen in the Egyptian Gallery, the features of which are of a higher intellectual order than those of Thothmes III.

The Pharaohs of this dynasty affected sacerdotal honours quite as much as royal ones. The name of Amunoph (assumed by this monarch at a late period of his reign, and extended to his two predecessors in substitution of their original appellations) seems to indicate some special relations with the deity. It appears, too, that, like the first of the name, he had a special order of priesthood serving in his honour. In the birth scene before mentioned he is promised the “throne of Horus,” and in bestowing that name upon his own son, the monarch may be thought to liken himself to the great god Osiris.



Other indications point to some religious innovations introduced at this period, and occasioning much dissension in the royal family. Horus was apparently not the eldest son, for an Amunoph IV. appears on some monuments, and the sixth year of his reign is recorded; but his shield has been subsequently defaced, and his name is omitted from

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe's History of Egypt, i. 66.



the Lists. Another brother is also found with royal insignia bearing the name of *Amuntuanch*; and a sister, *Titi*, with her husband, *Ai*, a priest, appears to have assumed similar honours; she is supposed to have survived Horus, and transmitted the throne to Rameses I.

The explanation which Baron Bunsen offers of these convulsions is that Amunoph IV. renounced the worship of the king of the gods, and addicted himself to that of the sun; not under the form of Ra, as recognised in Lower Egypt, but, like the Persians, invoking the luminary itself, shining resplendent in the heavens. A monument at Alabastron represents a Theban king in the act of thus adoring the sun, whose rays, each terminating with a hand, envelop his whole figure, to denote the universality of its influence. The inscription bears a name which Bunsen reads *Aakhnaten-ra*, and supposes it to have been assumed by Amunoph when he discarded the deity after whom he was originally called.<sup>1</sup>

Amunoph IV. being set aside for this apostasy, his brother Horus was adopted in the recognised succession as next to their father. His name is expressed by the hawk (the emblem of his patron deity), and the hieroglyphic, which denotes a religious festival. In a grotto between the first and second cataracts, he is represented in the character of his namesake, the son of Isis, suckled by the goddess Anouke, while the ram-headed deity Kneph stands by. He added both to the victories and the monuments of his father,



<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sharpe reads the cartouche *Adon-ra-bakan*, and gives it to Marus during the time of the Persian conquest, B. C. 460. The sun-worshipper he takes for his son Mannyras—Hist. of Egypt, i. 186—199.

and seems to have been still more largely invested with religious honours. In a representation of one of his triumphs, an attendant is figured burning incense before him. Two fine statues of this king in the Museum at Turin are inscribed with a decree ordering his image to be placed in the temples, and a festival to be celebrated in his honour, conjointly with the god Re. A tradition preserved in Josephus ascribed to him the privilege of enjoying "a vision of the gods."

He is often accompanied on the monuments by a royal lady (symbolized by a female sphinx), who, according to Josephus, was his daughter and successor on the throne. This may be the Rathos, Rathotis, or Athotis of the lists, and the *Titi* of the monuments, whom Lepsius believes to have been his sister; but here the discrepancies between the lists and the monuments become utterly irreconcilable. The succession was doubtless interrupted; in fact, it is given in three different forms by Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, two of whom, at least, possessed the original Manetho, while the monumental arrangement proposed by Bunsen and Lepsius exhibits a fourth, inconsistent with either.

On the whole, Africanus seems (as usual) the safest guide, though it is impossible to rely on any one where the testimony is so contradictory.



Supposing, with Bunsen, the names of Acherres (twice repeated) and Chabres, of whom nothing is known, to represent the rival brothers of Horus, Athotis (or Titi) was succeeded by her son Armesses or Rameses (which is the same name), answering to the

Ramessu I. of the monuments. His reign was short, as is shown by the absence of ornament on his tomb, and he was followed by Amenophath, or, as Eusebius writes it, Amenophis, the last of the dynasty, to whom Josephus and Africanus both assign a reign of nineteen years. If it be true that no monumental evidence remains of this king, the want of it may connect him with a tradition of the Exodus, which is presently to be related. He may possibly, however, be identified with Amenoph IV., whose shield has been found defaced, with a record of the sixth year of his reign.

The tradition referred to is preserved by Josephus, who being highly offended with the character it ascribed to his ancestors, affirmed that Manetho took it from no authentic registers, but only from the popular legends. It may be doubted, however, whether an ancient ballad is not an authority very superior to Manetho's imaginary registers.

Josephus' statement is, that, after describing the retreat of the Shepherds, Manetho "brings in a fictitious king Amenophis, who being a prince of much piety, earnestly desired to behold the gods, as Horus, one of his predecessors, had been permitted to do. On communicating this wish to a priest of his own name, reputed to be inspired, he was told that his desire should be gratified when he had cleared the country of its lepers, and other unclean inhabitants. The king having collected all the diseased persons he could find, to the number of 80,000, sent them to the quarries eastward of the Nile, where they were condemned to hard labour. Among them were several of the priesthood; and, dreading their influence with the gods, the priest Amenophis put an end to his life, leaving a prediction



that the outcasts would be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. After some time the king permitted the poor wretches to remove to Avaris, a city once sacred to Typhon, but which, after the expulsion of the Shepherds, had remained uninhabited. Here they chose for their leader one Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, who, after binding them by a solemn covenant to follow his guidance, delivered as his first enactment, that they should not worship any of the gods of Egypt, nor refrain from eating the sacred animals. Having further bound them by laws opposed to the customs of the Egyptians, he fortified the city, and sent for assistance to the Shepherds expelled by Tethmosis, and who then occupied Jerusalem. Two hundred thousand men obeyed his summons, and Amenophis in alarm removed the sacred animals out of the temples to his palace, commanding the priests to hide the idols. Having then entrusted his son Sethos, who was also called Ramesses after his grandfather, to the care of his friends, he marched against the rebels at the head of 300,000 men; but reflecting on the prophecy of his namesake, he resolved not to offend the gods by fighting against their decree. So withdrawing his army to Memphis, he took the bull Apis and the other sacred animals with him, and retreated with his whole force into Ethiopia, where they continued during the fated thirteen years. Meantime the Solymites, and followers of Osarsiph, cruelly oppressed the people, burned the towns and villages, plundered the temples, and forced the priests to slay the sacred animals, and cook them for their banquets. The priest Osarsiph changed his name to Moses. At the expiration of the appointed time, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia at the head of a large army; with the



aid of another force under his son Ramesses, he conquered the Shepherds and outcasts, and, driving them over the border, pursued them to the coast of Syria.”<sup>1</sup>

Such was the form in which the wounded pride of the Egyptian populace disguised the defeat experienced by Pharaoh and his gods in the prolonged controversy with the LORD of hosts. The impurity attributed to the Hebrews agrees with the caste feeling noted in the book of Genesis. The learning of Moses was explained by making him a renegade priest. The plagues inflicted on the idolaters were turned into sufferings, endured in obedience to the will of the false gods; and the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea was exchanged for an improbable inconsistent triumph.

The story is confounded with that of the Shepherds supposed to have built Jerusalem, but the introduction of this name betrays the fact that the rescued bondmen were, at one time, masters of that city. It is not improbable that the Egyptians considered the Jews as one of the tribes of their detested enemies; and it appears that they were in fact intimately allied with them. From those frontier tribes we must suppose the “mixed multitude” to be derived who accompanied the children of Israel in their Exodus.<sup>2</sup> In the exhortation to Amenophis to deliver the land from the outcasts, we may perhaps recognise the language really used by Pharaoh’s priests, “Let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?”<sup>3</sup> Even the name of Osarsiph, the priest of Heliopolis, might be traced to Joseph the son-in-law of such a priest, whom the mythologists confounded with Moses, the second representative Hebrew.

<sup>1</sup> Cont. Apion, lib. 1, c. xi. 26, 27.      <sup>2</sup> Exod. xii. 38.      <sup>3</sup> Exod. x. 7.

Manetho could have furnished a truer account of the Exodus if he had chosen, since a tradition was long preserved at Heliopolis "that Pharaoh pursued the Israelites in the hope of recovering the spoil they had taken from the Egyptians; but that Moses, at the bidding of a Divine voice, smote the sea with his rod, and the waters immediately opened a way on dry land. The Israelites entered and passed over in safety, but the Egyptians pursuing and rushing in with them, a fire flashed in their eyes, and the sea again closed up the path, so that by the fire and the waves they were all destroyed." <sup>1</sup>

Still the old legend has many more elements of truth than Josephus, whose heart was set on identifying the Jews with the Shepherd kings, cared to admit. The difficulty is to identify the pious king Amenophis and his son Sethos, with the historical or monumental rulers. Josephus supposed him to be the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenophath or Amenophis. Africanus, taking him to be Amenophis II., makes Moses fly out of Egypt in the reign of Amosis. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, disregarding the traditional name, places the Exodus under Thothmes III.; but this arrangement obliges him to contend, in opposition to the most obvious meaning of the narrative, that the sacred historian does not affirm the destruction of Pharaoh himself in the Red Sea. Bunsen connects the story as Josephus did, with the last Amenophis; but then he removes this king to the Nineteenth Dynasty, and makes his date too late for the Scripture chronology, or any Scriptural view of the duration of the bondage.

In the story itself Amenophis is the son of Rameses,

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ap. Shuckford, i. 563.

and the father of Sethos, who is also Rameses; these conditions are fulfilled only in the last ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who, according to Africanus, had Rameses for his predecessor and Sethos for his successor. To this king, therefore, it seems most natural to assign it; and if he be also the "Amenepht IV." of the monuments, it will be observed that his scutcheon closely resembles that of Amenophis II., especially in containing the hatchet, the symbol of divine honours.<sup>1</sup> Such idolatrous pretensions are exactly in keeping with the arrogant language of Pharaoh, "Who is the LORD, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go."

Such a ruler would be the very character to harden his heart against God till a judicial reprobation hardened it for ever. The Divine portents have a manifest bearing on the pride of the Egyptians, as illustrated on the monuments of this dynasty. The shepherd's rod turned into a serpent, the badge of Pharaoh's royalty—the Nile changed into blood, at the moment the king was about to perform his daily ablution in the sacred waters of life and purity—frogs and unclean vermin swarming in the chambers and garments of the fastidious priesthood—a murrain among the cattle, so dear to the gods—the unwonted terrors of thunder and lightning—thick darkness in the land of the sun, while "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings"—finally, the destruction of the first-born, the *Horus* of every house;—these were plagues full of significance to those idolaters, as interpreted by every illustration extant of their social and religious condition. The monuments throw a flood of light upon that solemn text: "In very deed

<sup>1</sup> Only one sign is different, "*Neter-hek-pen*" and "*Neter-hek-ma*."

for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.”<sup>1</sup> When the Egyptians sought to propitiate the God of the strangers by presents of “jewels of gold and silver” (their abundance in which is attested by the monuments), they must have felt in their hearts that Jehovah was already victorious; and when, in the dead of night, the fatal cry went throughout all the land—that most grievous of Egyptian mournings—and Pharaoh, stunned and terrified, was foremost in urging them to depart, his first insolent question would receive its answer from many lips, “The LORD he is the God, the LORD he is the God.”

Such enforced convictions, however, are often transient. “It was told the king that the people fled.”<sup>2</sup> The national vanity already began to represent it as a flight, and, maddened by his chastisement, Pharaoh pursued them “with six hundred chosen chariots and all the chariots of Egypt.” The Israelites, assembling first at Raamses, and other points adjacent to their fields of labour, had advanced under the experienced generalship of Moses<sup>3</sup> along some of the valleys which traverse the wilderness in an easterly direction to the Red Sea. The object was to avoid the warlike tribes who occupied the extremity of the Isthmus and the southern border of Palestine; but Pharaoh, perceiving they would be thus entangled between the barren heights on either hand and the gulf in their front, followed in hope of an easy victory. Then, in all probability at the opening of the Wady Tawarik,

<sup>1</sup> Exod. ix. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xiv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus relates that he commanded an army in the Ethiopian expedition.



where an angle of the gulf now makes the water seven miles broad, the crowning miracle took place. The Nile with all its gods had been humiliated before; and now the sea, the domain of Typhon, was shown to be equally subject to the LORD God of Israel. It opened under the shepherd's rod to give a safe passage to his armies, but it returned in the might of an ancient enemy to swallow up the deluded votaries of Osiris. "Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying, I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.—The LORD is a man of war: the LORD is his name. Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.—The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil.—Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.—Sing ye to the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."<sup>1</sup>

The strength of Egypt was broken: the dynasty was at an end: it was perhaps on the tidings of this fearful catastrophe that the infant heir to the throne was hurried away with the sacred animals into Ethiopia, and the Bedouins, pouring in upon Lower Egypt, committed the ravages afterwards imputed by the ballad-mongers to the hated priest Osarsiph. After some time the well-known patriotism of the people revived, or the migratory habits of the Arabs relieved them of their oppressors. The young Pharaoh,

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xv. 1—21. It is obvious that *drivers* are meant, since not mounted horses but chariots (Exod. xiv. 7—25) composed the force, and on the ancient monuments there are no examples of mounted soldiers.

returning from Ethiopia, gathered an army, not to pursue the Israelites, but to repress the border nations and restore the monarchy.



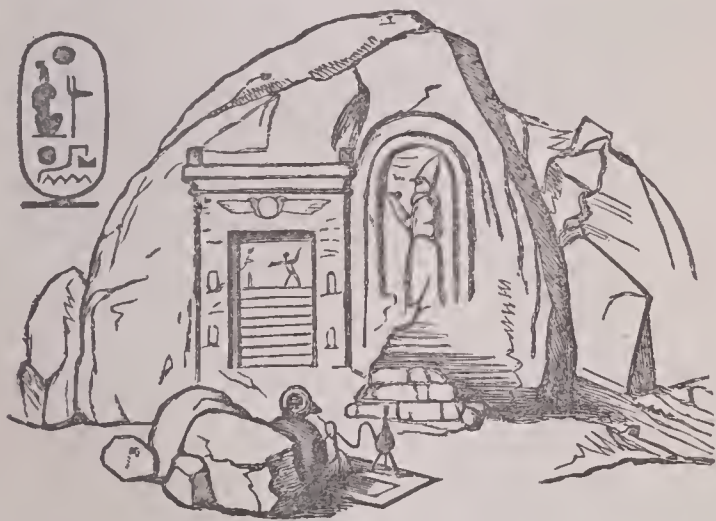
This task was efficiently performed by the first two rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Sethos, the grandson (in Lepsius's hypothesis the son) of Ramessu I. is entitled on the monuments the servant of Phtha, *Sethein*;—a name expressed in the hieroglyphics by a long-eared animal heretofore taken for an ass, but which Lepsius pronounces to be a giraffe. It was the emblem of the god Seth, who at that time would seem to be a deity of high repute, but being afterwards identified with Typhon the spirit of evil, he was effaced from the monuments, and became an object of horror.

Sethos became a great warrior, whose exploits are recorded on the hall of columns which he founded at Karnak. To some extent he has been confounded with his son Rameses the Great,<sup>1</sup> generally accounted the Sesostris of the Greeks. This legendary hero seems to have been compounded of all the marvels, real or imaginary, floating in Egyptian tradition. The name, according to Manetho, was taken from one of the Sesortasens; but the actions partly belonged to various kings and eras, and were partly the offspring of



<sup>1</sup> Some Egyptologists make Sethos to be the father of *two* successors, Rameses II. and III., the latter of whom is the Great Hero; but it is generally held that these are one and the same person, distinguished by an honourable augmentation ("prized by Helios") assumed at a later period. Rossellini, however, insists that the statues show a decided difference of feature; those who follow his authority, number the subsequent Rameses, accordingly, from IV. to IX., instead of from III. to VIII.

imagination. Sethos and his son are both famed for expeditions against the "Scythians" then pouring down upon Egypt: not content with repelling them, they are supposed to have carried their victorious arms into Asia, to the banks of the Ganges and the Danube. Rameses had a fleet of 300 ships on the Red Sea, which, having seized on the islands, passed the straits of Babelmandel, and co-operated with his armies on the shores of India. A manuscript in the British Museum celebrates, in the shape of a dialogue between Rameses and the gods, his victories over the Ethiopians, Syrians, Arabians, Ionians, Scythians, and Bactrians. The chief campaigns appear to have been against the Hittites in the valley of the Orontes, who had formed a strong confederacy against him. Rameses defeated their army, captured their capital, Ketesh, and obliged them to conclude a treaty. The most trustworthy evidence of the extent of his foreign



marches is to be found in a triumphal monument bearing his throne-name, which is yet extant near Beyroot in Syria, and was doubtless that to which Herodotus testifies as erected by Sesostris. By its side is an Assyrian trophy, probably placed by Sennacherib.

The grandeur and beauty of the temples with which this monarch adorned Egypt and Nubia exceed those of all his predecessors. The prostrate colossus at Memphis is his statue.

According to Eusebius, Rameses the Great was the *Ægyptus* of Greek tradition; but Bunsen maintains the statement of Josephus, who gives that title to his father Sethos. In a passage preserved by the Jewish writer, Manetho relates that "Sethos possessed a body of cavalry (chariots) and a navy: during his absence in the wars, Armais his brother was appointed viceroy, but with a prohibition from using the royal diadem. In time Armais, relying on his brother's distance from the scene, assumed the diadem, and occupying the palace openly rebelled against the king. Sethos, however, receiving a despatch from the high priest, suddenly reappeared at Pelusium, and deprived the traitor of his authority. This Sethos was named *Ægyptus*, and his brother Armais Danaus; and from the former the country was called Egypt."<sup>1</sup> Such, according to Josephus, was Manetho's account: but it was an account designed only to find a place for the Greek legend in the Egyptian annals. *Ægyptus* and Danaus are Greek names never heard of in Egypt till after the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the legend is clearly of Greek fabrication.

The truth appears to be that the Exodus of the children of Israel was followed by a series of migrations from the Delta, which under the earlier Pharaohs had admitted a number of settlements of various origin. While the Arabs and Phœnicians hovered on the eastern border, the western was occupied by colonies of Greek blood, carrying on trade or piracy

<sup>1</sup> Cont. Apion, lib. 1, c. xi. 15.



upon the Mediterranean. These adventurers were in great measure independent of the Egyptian kings;—occupying their own towns, and observing their own laws and customs. Their settlements probably furnished Manetho with his Hyksos dynasties, consisting both of “Phœnician” and “Hellenic” Shepherd kings. The consolidation of the monarchy under the Theban kings overthrew these independent settlements; and their chiefs, removing across the sea, carried their acquisitions to found new cities in Greece. Cecrops of Athens, Cadmus of Bœotian Thebes, and Danaus of Argos, were not Egyptians, though arriving out of Egypt. They brought with them Egyptian arts and learning, which, however inferior to the later developments of European intellect, were enough to kindle the Greek genius, and initiate the career of true philosophy. The Jews are thought to have borrowed the square characters of the Hebrew alphabet from the hieroglyphics; and the same boon may have been conferred on the more barbarous Greeks by the colonists from the Delta. The Greek legends dated these arrivals about 1500 years before the Christian era. The Pelasgi, who taught the Greeks civilization, and have been supposed to be a sacerdotal caste from India, might be more probably traced in these migrations from Egypt, the nearer as well as older seat of learning.

Rameses is supposed by Bunsen to be the same with Rapsaces, and upon that hypothesis is entered twice over in the list of Africanus. He is followed by Amenepthes, whom Bunsen assumes to be the same with Amenophis, the last of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and to him he appropriates a monumental name reading Menephthah. Then follows Ammenenes, who



may be the ruler called Setei Menephthah, though Bunsen prefers to consider him a rival king. Nothing can be more precarious than the whole of this arrangement. Bunsen further identifies Menephthah, or Menpthah, with *Menophres*, a supposed king from whom the "era of Menophres" derived its name. This era is mentioned by Theon of Alexandria, who lived in the fourth century after Christ, as beginning in the year 1322 B.C. It was, consequently, the same with the Sothiac cycle, which Censorius speaks of as ending A.D. 139.<sup>1</sup>

Menophres being imagined to be the name of the king in whose reign this era was introduced, Menpthah is fixed upon as nearest in sound. Assuming also that this Menophres-Menpthah is the Amenophis of Josephus's legend, Bunsen supposes he has fixed the date of the Exodus at 1322 B.C., and shown at the same time that "the fixed point of ancient history hitherto sought for in vain has been established, both astronomically and historically, in the Nineteenth Dynasty." This assertion is an example of the astonishing confidence felt by this writer in a purely imaginary arrangement. For after conceding all that is requisite to connect the year 1322 B.C. with Menophres, and Menophres with Menpthah, there is still not a shadow of evidence to connect this king with any part of history, sacred or profane. Although Bunsen ventures to term his "Jewish synchronism undoubtedly historical," it rests upon nothing but his own conjecture that Menpthah is the Amenophis of the legend, and would make the bondage of Israel to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 192.

exceed 1400 years. To this writer every hypothesis seems historical which contradicts the sacred narrative.

Neither is it easier to reconcile this "fixed point of ancient history" with the well-established chronology of the classic ages. Menpthah is followed by Setei II. (a king unknown to Manetho), who after a reign of only five years gives place to Thuoris, in whose time Troy was taken. Now this event happened in 1184 B.C., more than a century after the period of Thuoris on the Prussian arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

Thuoris, a name unknown to the monuments, may be a mistake for *Phuoris*, a title derived from *phior*, "the river," the great feature of Egypt, and the constant boast of its kings.<sup>2</sup> This would agree with those Greek writers who say that Nilus was king of Egypt at the fall of Troy; and as the river was also called *Ægyptus*, it may supply a key to the story of Danaus, who came from its banks, and was followed by others from the same region. Bunsen identifies Thuoris with *Merira*, the progenitor of the Twentieth Dynasty, and thinks that one of his epithets was *Set-Nekh*t (the strong Seth), which the Greeks, corrupting into *Cetes* (a seal), gave rise to the fable of a sea-god sleeping on the shore, who, when approached, evaded the inquirer by assuming a variety of shapes. Diodorus says this god was a king of Egypt, and his changes of aspect were to be explained from the custom of wearing masks representing the heads of different animals.

The god was also called Proteus, which, according to Herodotus, was the name of the king of

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. G. Wilkinson believes that the astronomical date, 1322 B.C., fell in the middle of the reign of Sheshonk I. of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3.

Egypt at the taking of Troy. He relates that Paris, having been driven on the Egyptian coast with Helen on their way from Sparta, was detained till the king had been apprised of his adventure. Proteus, indignant at his crimes, would have put him to death but for the laws of hospitality; in permitting him to depart, he kept Helen and all the treasure in Egypt, where she was found by her husband, Menelaus, on returning from the fall of Troy. The historian asserts that Priam represented this fact to the Greek ambassadors who demanded Helen's restoration, and that she was really not in the city as represented by Homer.<sup>1</sup> In the *Odyssey*, Menelaus actually touches in Egypt on his return from Troy; and the poet makes him describe his visit to Proteus, the veteran sea-god, whom he found sleeping in the midst of his seals on the island of Pharos. On being seized he changed himself into a lion, a dragon, a panther, an enormous sow, then into water, and a tree, finally returning to his own shape.<sup>2</sup> The poet is doubtless quite as reliable as the Manethonian history.

With the Nineteenth Dynasty Manetho terminated his second book. The third commenced with the Twentieth Dynasty, consisting of twelve Diospolite kings, whose names are not given. The omission has been supplied from the temple of Medinet Aboo and other monuments, which furnish a succession of rulers bearing the family name of Rameses. The first is Rameses III., supposed to be the son of Merira, whose conquests are recorded on the great temple of Medinet Aboo. These sculptures represent a naval victory on the Mediterranean, gained over the fleets of the Carians and Cretans, as well as land conquests over the Philis-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Od. iv. 331—570.



tines, and the Libyans of Western Africa. The long reign of this monarch, which recalled the glories of the great Rameses, concluded the flourishing period of the monarchy. He was the founder of the temple at Medinet Aboo, one of the finest in Egypt, and is represented on its walls carried in procession under a canopy,<sup>1</sup> with the figure of a lion (perhaps the living animal) by his side. The god Khem, the bull Apis, and the ark, are borne in the same procession, accompanied by priests and soldiers. The lid of this king's sarcophagus, now in the Museum at Cambridge, represents him between Isis and Nephthys, with the feathers and sun of Amun-ra, the horns of Kneph, and the whip and hook of Osiris.

The power of these great warrior Pharaohs of Thebes was founded on a military organization peculiar to their race and age, but possibly somewhat analogous to the Rajpoot caste of India. The inroads of the Bedouins had shown the necessity of assigning a particular class to the profession of arms, which, in accordance with Oriental tendencies, became an endowed and hereditary order. They were divided into two classes, called *Calasirians* and *Hermotybians*; the former, according to some authorities, were the men under arms, and the latter the veterans forming the reserve. Each soldier had an allotment of land, chiefly in Lower Egypt, as the most exposed to invasion. They furnished garrisons at Pelusium, Elephantine, and Marea, and also a body-guard of 1000 strong to the king. The rest were in the military settlements. The foot soldiers were chiefly archers, but some were armed with spears,

<sup>1</sup> This word is said to be derived from the Egyptian word *conops*, a gnat, being originally a frame of gauze to keep off the mosquitoes.

battle-axes, or clubs. Iron has not been found among the antiquities, which may be accounted for by the rapid oxydation of that metal. It is hardly to be doubted that the granite obelisks were carved with steel (the manufacture of which might easily be discovered in smelting the ore with wood), and the metal which made the best chisels would naturally form the points of their spears and arrows. On the march the ranks were sometimes loose, at others the spearmen are represented, each with his shield, in a close square phalanx. They carried standards of animals raised on poles, and their chiefs are distinguished by the ostrich feather for a baton. The cities were defended by moats and walls, fortified by towers.

The *élite* of the army were the cavalry, or rather charioteers, for *mounted* horsemen are not seen on the monuments. The chariots were two-wheeled, drawn by a pair of horses, as afterwards imitated by the Greeks. Each contained two men—the warrior and his charioteer: the chief was commonly armed with two spears, a sword, and a bow, and the chariot was decorated with carving and colour. In one of the sculptures a lion is seen running by the side of the king's chariot, chasing his enemies. This incident has been ridiculed as fabulous; but it is not impossible that the animal should have been trained to such exercises, as the leopard still is to hunting in India.

The superiority of these troops to the undisciplined tribes of Asia and Africa is so manifest, that it need not be questioned that they secured the supremacy of Thebes till newer methods of warfare were imported from Europe.

Rameses was followed by three sons of his own name, one of whom may be the Rhampsinitus, of

whose treasury a ridiculous story is told in Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> None of them make any figure in history, and the dynasty closed with Rameses VIII., under whom the palmy days of Thebes came to an end.

While David was subduing the last remnants of the Canaanites, and founding the capital of the Lord's people at Jerusalem, Thebes, their old and merciless oppressor, was finally deprived of the power it had abused for ages. The earthly causes appear to have been the growth of commerce and wealth among the mixed races of the Delta, coupled with the introduction of improved arms and discipline from their intercourse with Greece and Asia Minor. The old Coptic castes were unable to resist a movement which their religious prejudices could never conciliate. They were compelled to retreat into the narrow valley, from which they had sallied forth to conquest seven or eight centuries before. The priests of Amun usurped the government of Thebes, while the Delta became the seat of a new power, under the Egyptian name, which first commanded the obedience, and then exacted vengeance, of the former capital.

It must not be forgotten that these statements are to a great extent hypothetical. We are still without the light of genuine history or chronology. The explanations offered of the monuments are conjectural, pieced out by critical comparison with the statements found in foreign authors, and by what is known of the neighbouring nations. The data become more reliable as we approach nearer the historical period. The disappearance of Thebes from the regal successions was the prelude of an entire fall, which is recorded by the prophet Nahum. "No-Amun, that

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. 121.

was situate among the rivers (canals), that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and floods her defences. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim (Africa and Libya) were her helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nahum iii. 8—10.



## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE PHARAOHS OF THE DELTA.

*Change in Population—Shishak—Jeroboam—Invasion of Judæa—First Authentic Date—Defeat of Zerah—Other Dynasties—Ethiopian Conquest—Tirhaka—Account of the Priests—The Dodecarchy—Labyrinth—Psamaticus—Sais—Commencement of Real History—Intercourse with Greece—Military Successes—Rhodopis, the original Cinderella—Nitocris—Red Pyramid—Pharaoh Necho—Ship Canal—Voyage round the Cape—Pharaoh Hophra—Babylonish Captivity—Flight into Egypt—Jeremiah—Ezekiel—Death of Hophra—Fulfilment of Prophecy—Amasis—Splendid Reign—Greek Visitors—Capture of Babylon by Cyrus—Persian Invasion—Cambyses—Darius—Native Meleks—Revolt of Egyptians—Amyrtæus—Greek Auxiliaries—Last of the Pharaohs—Triumph of Persians—Prostration of Egypt—A Glance at Prophecy—Conclusion.*

THE remaining Pharaohs in Manetho, from the Twenty-first to the Thirtieth Dynasties, reigned in some of the great cities of Lower Egypt, which had probably never ceased to possess their princely houses, boasting the blood of Menes. The Delta was now a very different country from that into which the fierce Copts had descended from the Upper valley, and, expelling the strangers from Memphis, established their own rule in their place. The population of the eastern part had been largely mixed with Arab and Phœnician settlers, while the trade of the Mediterranean, ascending the western branches of the Nile, at once enriched its cities, and enlarged the ideas of the natives. The narrow policy of the Theban castes could no longer pass for wisdom, and the power of the Theban arms was no longer irresistible.

The first of the royal houses to assert independence was that of the ancient Tanis, the seat of Manetho's Twenty-first Dynasty. He has omitted both their

names and history, and the deficiency is not supplied by monumental evidence. Holy Scripture, however, contains a few brief notices which probably belong to this period.

The Israelites, having gained possession of a large proportion of the land of promise, and deposited the ark of the Lord upon Mount Zion, were brought into collision with the descendants of Esau in Edom. These were a turbulent Arab nation, who derived their chief revenue from levying tribute on the caravans of the more civilized Midianites, when passing through their country to Egypt. Saul had been obliged to repel them from his frontier;<sup>1</sup> and David, after a bloody struggle, planted garrisons among them to ensure their quiescence.<sup>2</sup> On this occasion Hadad, a young Edomite prince, fled into Egypt, and was hospitably received, probably by one of the rulers of the Twenty-first Dynasty, who gave him his sister-in-law in marriage. The queen of Egypt is here called Tahpenes, which seems to be the same with Tahpanhes, the city to which Jeremiah was afterwards carried.<sup>3</sup> This city is also called Hanes<sup>4</sup> (without the article), and as this word is found in the names of other queens, we may consider it a sort of title appropriated to the Egyptian queens of this period. Tahpanhes would then be "the queen's city,"—a town allotted to her revenue, as the fisheries of Lake Mœris were assigned in old time to find her majesty in perfumes, and at a later period the taxes of Anthylla were added for sandal strings.

On David's death, Hadad leaving Egypt in spite of the king's remonstrance, made an effort to recover his

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. viii. 14 with 1 Kings xi. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xliii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxx. 4.

patrimony. According to the Septuagint version, he succeeded in becoming king in Edom, and “was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon.” The Jewish monarch was nevertheless able to seize Eziongeber, afterwards called Berenice, at the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, and from thence he fitted out ships of Tarshish<sup>1</sup> to carry on the African trade, previously conveyed on camels through Ethiopia, and down the Nile through Egypt. Solomon also conquered the Amalekites, an Arab race in the desert of Shur, between Gaza and Pelusium, and thus extended his dominions to the “river of Egypt.” Some writers imagine this expression to denote the eastern branch of the Nile, but the name was given to a small river in the desert, which empties itself at Rhinocorura.

The contiguity induced negotiations with the kings of Tanis, and Solomon sealed the treaty by receiving Pharaoh's daughter in marriage. This alliance gave occasion to the introduction of the Egyptian chariots into the Jewish army, and its fine linen to the wardrobes of Jerusalem. The contract price of a chariot delivered in Judea was 600 shekels of silver, or about £75 sterling; of a horse, 150 shekels, or £19. Solomon seems to have obtained a monopoly of supplying these articles to the Hittites, and the treaty being twice recorded, was doubtless very advantageous to his exchequer.<sup>2</sup>

With the Twenty-second Dynasty the seat of power was shifted to Bubastis, or *Abou Pasht*, the “city of Pasht,” whom the Greeks called Diana. It was situated on the Pelusiac Nile, about seventy miles from its mouth, and only sixty miles from the head of

<sup>1</sup> The ship-building port of Tyre.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings x. 28, 29; 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

the Red Sea. Its first king was Amun-mai Sheshonk I., with whom Egyptian history finds at last a sure footing in connexion with the Sacred. Shishak (as the name is there spelled) sheltered Jeroboam from the enmity of Solomon, who sought to kill the predicted scourge of his sins.<sup>1</sup> The king of Egypt may have resented the wrongs of Pharaoh's daughter,<sup>2</sup> or, belonging to another dynasty, he may have cared little for her in comparison with the political advantage of encouraging a pretender to the throne of his formidable neighbour. With this object in view, Shishak would offer no impediment, when upon Solomon's death Jeroboam was invited back to head the national remonstrance at the coronation of Rehoboam.<sup>3</sup> Egypt was doubtless counted upon as an ally, when the ten tribes fell away from the house of David. The golden calves in Dan and Beersheba were imitated from those which Jeroboam had seen on the banks of the Nile; but if it was by his counsel that Shishak invaded Judea, there is reason to think he received the due reward of his treason, for among the names inscribed on the south wall of the temple of Karnak, are those of towns which must have belonged to Samaria. Pharaoh ravaged friend and foe without discrimination. Jerusalem was taken (B. C. 972): the temple was ransacked, and the famous golden shields of Solomon were carried away to decorate the altars of the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis. This exploit, which took place in the twenty-second year of Shishak's reign, is still written in the monumental stone of Thebes, and in the yet more imperishable records of Holy Scripture. It



1 1 Kings xi. 40.

2 1 Kings xi. 1.

3 1 Kings xii. 1.



furnishes the first really authentic date in Egyptian history, and the true basis of all its chronology.

The rule of Shishak was commensurate with that of the Ancient Monarchy: the white crown of Upper Egypt is found on his shield, and his exploits are recorded in the temple at Thebes, with the ancient title of lord of the Upper and Lower regions. Both the lotus and the papyrus are depicted on the shields carried before him, and they are followed by the "nine bows," the acknowledged symbol of Libya. It is mentioned in the book of Chronicles that the Ethiopians also were subject to him.<sup>1</sup> His intention clearly was to add Judea to the number. This fate was threatened to Rehoboam by the prophet at the commencement of the invasion;<sup>2</sup> and there was nothing to induce the king of Egypt to recede from his purpose.

The figure representing the Jews in his triumphal inscription has already been noticed;<sup>3</sup> the beard which they were commanded to wear,<sup>4</sup> in marked opposition to the Egyptian usage, distinguishes him from the African captives. The hieroglyphics on the shield reading "*Joudh Malk*," with the sign which designates land, signify "the kingdom of the Jews;" they imply not merely a successful foray, but the subjugation of the kingdom. We may infer that it continued tributary to Egypt during the evil reign of Rehoboam's successor Abijah, whose mother "made an idol in a grove,"<sup>5</sup> which, according to the reading of the Vulgate, was connected with the worship of Osiris. His priests appear to have appropriated the vessels of the sanctuary, and desecrated the great altar of sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

1 2 Chron. xii. 3.

2 2 Chron. xii. 5.

3 Page 66.

4 Lev. xix. 27.

5 1 Kings xv. 13.

6 2 Chron. xv. 8.

These abominations were reformed by Asa, who, deposing his grandmother from her dignity, destroyed her idol, and renewed the altar of the LORD. In all probability he cast off at the same time the temporal yoke of Egypt, and restored the independence of his kingdom. The prodigious army which came against him in consequence were probably the forces of Egypt,<sup>1</sup> called Ethiopians from being largely composed of black troops. The name of the commander, Zerah, may be only the royal title, *Si-ra*; but some critics identify him with Serakh or Osorchon, the successor of Shishak. Though at the head of a million of men, he was unable to repeat his father's conquests. "Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let not man prevail against thee. So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled."<sup>2</sup>



This defeat was followed by the decline of Shishak's house; Tanis once more became the seat of power under the Twenty-third Dynasty, but nothing is known of its history. Another shifting of the scene exhibits Sais again in possession, under the single king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, Bocchoris, "in whose time a lamb spoke!" The Greek writers make him the son of Tlepacht, who, leading an army into Arabia, was so charmed with the independence of camp life, that he imprecated a curse upon Menes, as the author of the

<sup>1</sup> Bible Dict., p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xiv. 11, 12.

cumbrous superfluities of civilization. Bocchoris was celebrated as the legislator who first gave Egypt a constitution. He headed an expedition into Ethiopia, but, being defeated and taken prisoner, was burned alive by his savage captors. Notwithstanding his renown in history, Bocchoris has not been identified by any remaining monument.

Egypt was now in turn subject to Ethiopia, which it had once held as a province. Sabakon or Sebek, king of Napola, was the head of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, consisting of only three kings. The second, also called Sebek, is supposed to be the "So (or Seva), king of Egypt," whose alliance was sought by Hoshea king of Israel, against the now formidable power of Assyria.<sup>1</sup> This league only provoked an enemy whom it was not able to resist. Shalmaneser captured Samaria, and, carrying the ten tribes captive into Assyria, left Judah the only visible heir of the kingdom and family of David. Many of the Israelites probably escaped into Egypt, where there seems to have been ever a considerable body of Jews speaking their own language, and practising their religious rites.<sup>2</sup>



The last of this Dynasty was Tarcos or Tarhaka, who, according to Eusebius, came with an army out of Ethiopia, and slew Sebek. He was the "Tirhakah king of Ethiopia" mentioned in the history of Hezekiah.<sup>3</sup>

Sennacherib was apparently advancing through Palestine to the invasion of Egypt; from Lachish he sent a threatening message to Hezekiah,<sup>4</sup> who had previously become his tributary, and was perhaps about to

1 2 Kings xvii. 4.

3 2 Kings xix. 9.

2 Kenrick, ii. 370; Isa. xix. 18.

4 2 Kings xviii. 7.

seize this opportunity to regain his independence.<sup>1</sup> The prophet was instructed to declare that the invader should "hear a rumour, and return to his own land." The intelligence of Tirhakah's advance did accordingly arrest him at Lachish,<sup>2</sup> but its effect was to divert his march to Libnah, on the road to Jerusalem, and repeat his menaces on that devoted capital. It might easily have been reached before Tirhakah could come up, but the angel of the Lord was swifter than the Assyrian army: the death of 185,000 men in one night broke up the camp, and sent the invaders in full flight to Nineveh.<sup>3</sup>

This miraculous interposition was the saving of Egypt as well as Judea; but the priests of Phthah were not content to owe their deliverance to the Lord God of Israel. According to Herodotus, Lower Egypt was at this time under the government of Sethos, a priest of Vulcan. The historian calls him a king, and mentions two predecessors, Anychis and Asychis; but as none of them are found in Manetho, it is concluded they were either local chiefs resisting the arms of Tirhakah, or his viceroys in Lower Egypt. Sethos had so offended the military caste by withholding some of their privileges, that on the approach of the Assyrians they refused to join his standard. The priest, putting himself under the protection of his god, marched out with such volunteers as he could raise on the occasion. The danger was averted by the sudden flight of Sennacherib, which Herodotus was assured was wholly due to Phthah. A prodigious number of mice entered the Assyrian camp, and so gnawed the bowstrings and handles of their shields, that the soldiers finding their arms useless, cast them away and

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings v. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings v. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 35.



fled in confusion. In proof of this story, the priests showed a marble statue of Sethos holding a mouse, with an inscription exhorting the spectator to reverence the gods.

The Ethiopians, who are said to have retired from Egypt of their own accord, would appear to have kept possession of the Upper valley for some time longer, during which a queen Ameris or Amanartis is found on the monuments. At Memphis the priests of Phthah had perhaps raised the people in arms, while other cities and districts were governed by their own nomarchs: a league was formed to which the Greek writers gave the name of the Dodecarchy, or "reign of Twelve." To this confederacy Herodotus ascribes the building of the Labyrinth as a place of common assembly, but so extensive and costly a structure is little likely to have been the work of that troubled period. It is more probable that annual celebrations had been held there from time to time immemorial, and the edifice had been constantly renewed and enriched. According to Diodorus, "the history of each king's country was delineated on the walls, with the temples and sacrifices peculiar to every province."<sup>1</sup> This was not the work of a single age. The division of Egypt into *nomes* or districts, with a local governor and even a local religion, continued under every form of supreme authority. When the sovereign power ceased in the capital, the nomarch was ready to assume the royal titles; and as all pretended to be descended from Menes, so they appeared at a common celebration, attended by their priests and nobles, to join in the national sacrifice, and decide questions of common law.

According to the Greek writers, the princes of the

1 Diod. Sic. i. 66.

Dodecarchy had agreed with each other to abstain from any attempt at sole dominion, but the oracle had declared that whichever of them should offer the libation to Phthah from a brazen vessel, would become monarch of Egypt. On one occasion, being present together at the sacrifice, they proceeded to make their libations from the customary vases of gold. The priest, through some mistake, had brought only eleven cups, and on arriving at Psamaticus, who stood last in order, the chief received the wine in his helmet and made the libation. The helmet being of brass, the other princes took the alarm, and, having expelled him from the league, confined him to his own territories at Sais; here, on consulting the oracle, he was told that the sea would avenge his cause by producing men of brass. Some time after, a body of Ionians and Carians were driven on the coast, and, being clad in brass armour, Psamaticus accepted them as his destined champions, and having vanquished, by their assistance, the eleven kings, he became master of Egypt.

The story of the Dodecarchy has been obviously embellished by the fabulous tendencies of the priests who recounted it. Manetho had no knowledge of any such league, but enters Psamaticus as the fourth ruler of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The preceding three were probably heads of the house of Sais not generally recognised as sovereigns. Sais was the port of communication with the Greeks, as Pelusium and Bubastis had been with the Phœnicians. These roving islanders were now beginning to seek their fortunes in Egypt, and by availing himself of their aid, Psamaticus subdued the other princes, and secured the monarchy to himself, B. C. 670.



With this king Egyptian history takes its real commencement. Hitherto we have been chasing phantoms, raised and dismissed at pleasure by the heathen priests. No Greek had as yet advanced into their domain; no light, save a few straggling rays from the Sacred history, penetrated their literary coverts. From this time forward, Herodotus remarks, he shall relate that in which the Egyptians and other nations agree. "The effect is immediately visible, and we have henceforth a definite chronology, an authentic succession of kings conformable to the monuments, and a history composed of credible facts."<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, in like manner, remarks that "the whole narrative of the period before Psamaticus is without value, but from that time it is historical and excellent."<sup>2</sup>

According to Herodotus, Psamaticus reigned forty-six years, and Lepsius has discovered the forty-fifth in a papyrus at Turin. He showed his gratitude to his Greek auxiliaries by retaining them in the Egyptian army, and granting them lands on the Pelusiatic Nile, below Bubastis, where they formed a settlement called "the camps." Desirous of encouraging the commerce which had raised his city above other Egyptian capitals, he assigned Naucratis, a port somewhat lower down on the opposite bank, for a trading settlement. Treaties were entered into with Athens and other Greek states, and the king evinced his preference for the new learning by giving his children a Greek education. This liberality to foreigners, so conducive to the real interests of the kingdom, was highly offensive to the traditions and feelings of the

<sup>1</sup> Kenrick, ii. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Lect. on Ancient History, cited in Lewis's *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 315.

Copts. To content the priests, Psamaticus built the great hall of Apis at Memphis, the pillars of which were colossal figures of himself, with the attributes of Osiris. He also erected many other splendid monuments in Upper and Lower Egypt.

The military classes were gratified by renewing the fame of Egypt in the field. He recaptured Ashdod (Azotus) in Palestine, after a siege of twenty-nine years, from the Assyrians who had previously taken it from Egypt. His native soldiers, however, becoming discontented with the partiality shown to the Greek auxiliaries, 240,000 Egyptians are said (with the usual indifference to numbers) to have deserted from Elephantine, and retired into Ethiopia. Here they settled in a district assigned them by the Ethiopian prince, and diffused a knowledge of Egyptian civilization among his less advanced subjects.<sup>1</sup> To this reign is ascribed the origin of the demotic writing, introduced for drawing up the contracts which the progress of commerce rendered necessary.

Psamaticus is the subject of two stories more akin to nursery tales than the recitals of history. In order to discover which was the mother tongue of mankind, he had two children brought up in seclusion without ever being spoken to. The first sound they emitted was said to be *bek*, probably in imitation of the goat's cry which suckled them; but this word signifying bread in the Phœnician language, it was concluded to be the most ancient form of speech.

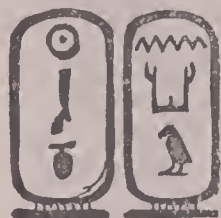
The other story is that, as he was sitting in the court of his palace, an eagle dropped a lady's shoe into

<sup>1</sup> An inscription, cut by the Greek soldiers who pursued these deserters, on a statue at Abou Simbel, at the second Cataract, is perhaps one of the earliest Greek writings now extant.



his lap, the elegance of which so charmed the Pharaoh that he made proclamation for the owner to come and be his wife. The fair Cinderella turned out to be a Greek slave named Rhodope, once the fellow-servant of Æsop, whose slipper had been carried off while she was bathing at Naucratis. Psamaticus made her his queen, and according to Strabo she was the builder of the Third pyramid.

What makes this story the more remarkable is that Rhodope (rosy-cheeked) is the Greek equivalent of Nitocris, who was really the queen of Psamaticus, and is found by that name on the monuments. Lepsius makes out that Psamaticus had two wives, Nitocris and Rhodope, and moreover that he himself bore the name of Mencheres. Mr. Birch has ascertained that in this age there was an affectation of imitating the ancient Memphite names and customs,<sup>1</sup> so that whatever may be thought of Rhodope and her slipper, it seems on the whole the most probable that this queen Nitocris (the only one of the name on the monuments) was really the builder of the Third pyramid, and that the mummy with the epitaph to Mencheres is that of Psamaticus himself. Remembering his attachment to the Greeks, it is very probable the queen, like the wife of Amasis, was of that nation, and hence the fair complexion and rosy cheeks which made such a figure in Egyptian tradition.



Necho II., son of Psamaticus (whose father was also called Necho) still further advanced the reputation of the kingdom. Continuing the war in the east, he marched along the coast of Palestine to attack Nabopolassar, who had conquered Babylon and Nineveh,

<sup>1</sup> Vyse's Pyramids, Appendix, vol. ii., p. 136.

establishing the Chaldee empire from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean. Josiah, then reigning at Jerusalem, being an ally of the Assyrians, intercepted Necho at Megiddo,<sup>1</sup> forty or fifty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and in spite of his remonstrances provoked an engagement in which he was defeated and mortally wounded, B.C. 610.<sup>2</sup> Necho, pursuing his march to the Euphrates, captured Carchemish,<sup>3</sup> a strong city of the Hittites; and on his return, finding that Jehoahaz had presumed to ascend his father's throne without asking his permission, he exacted a heavy tribute from the land, and carried the king prisoner into Egypt. The government was committed to his brother Eliakim, and the house of Judah once more became tributary to Pharaoh king of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> The conqueror, however, was not to enjoy his triumph long. Three years after Nabopolassar sent his son Nebuchadnezzar to Carchemish, which he recovered with all Syria; and then, driving the Egyptians out of Palestine, took away all their possessions eastward of the Nile, confining them within their own border for the rest of this reign.<sup>5</sup>

To Necho the Greek historians ascribe the attempt to dig a ship canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. A canal from the Nile, for the purpose of irrigation, is supposed to have existed in the earliest times; indeed the valley of Goshen could have enjoyed no fertility without it. It would seem to have been

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, strangely enough, places this battle at Mendes in Egypt, which he says belonged to Josiah.—*Ant.* x. 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Not the classical Circesium, but a strong fort higher up the Euphrates.—*Bible Dict.* p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 33—35; Jer. xxii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 7; *Bible Dict.* p. 51.

closed by a change which had taken place in the sands at its outlet in the gulf of Suez. Such a change is thought to be alluded to in the prophecy of Isaiah: "The LORD shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea."<sup>1</sup> By the gradual formation of a sand bank across the gulf, the upper part of it was cut off from the Red Sea, and converted into a lake. A line of morasses and lakes still runs from this lake to the Pelusiatic marshes, to the east of which was "the great Serbonian bog," fabled to have swallowed up whole armies in their march along the coast. Necho probably undertook to open out the ancient canal, and connect it with both seas by cutting through the intervening sand-banks. He accomplished, it would appear, so much of his design as brought the Nile water into the Bitter Lakes, and placed a formidable trench between himself and the Assyrian armies; but he desisted from the scheme of a navigation between the two seas, on being warned by the priests that it would be for the advantage of foreigners more than of Egypt.

Still anxious, however, to make use of his ships on the coast of Palestine, Necho is said to have contemplated the far bolder design of sailing round Africa. According to the statements made to Herodotus, this was actually accomplished, by means of Phœnician mariners. Sailing only with the wind astern, and unable to carry provisions for a distant voyage, the sailors ran down the trade wind in summer, landed in autumn, and having sowed the grain they brought with them, remained on the spot till the produce was grown and reaped. Two years were thus occupied in creeping round the coast; in the third they passed the Pillars of

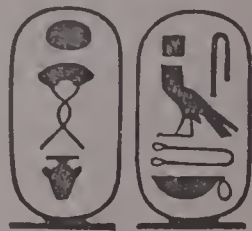
1 Isa. xi. 15.

Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), and entering the Mediterranean, proceeded to the mouth of the Nile.

To Herodotus himself one part of their relation seemed incredible; that while sailing westward they found the sun at noonday on *their right hand*. A phenomenon, so unknown in the northern hemisphere, was then rejected as a traveller's tale, but to us it is the most certain proof that Necho's mariners really passed below the southern tropic. Influenced by this fact the majority of modern writers accept the relation, and ascribe to Necho the honour of first discovering the peninsular form of Africa. Sir G. C. Lewis, however, after a careful investigation, concludes that the story "is too imperfectly attested, and too improbable in itself to be regarded as a historical fact."<sup>1</sup> Herodotus himself was certainly acquainted with the shape of Africa, but he may have learned it from the circumnavigation of Hanno the Carthaginian, which took place in his own time.<sup>2</sup>

Necho was followed by another Psamaticus, who is said to have advised the state of Elis, in Greece, that, being constituted judges to award the prizes at the Olympic games, its citizens ought by no means to become competitors themselves, for fear of partiality.

The next king was Psamaticus III., whose prenomen is read Vaphres or Apries. Some, indeed, think this king the same person with the last. He is the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture, who sent an army to the relief of Jerusalem when besieged by the Assyrians, in consequence of Zedekiah having thrown off the yoke



<sup>1</sup> Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 470. Herodotus was then fourteen years old.



of Nebuchadnezzar. The latter retreated on the approach of the Egyptians,<sup>1</sup> who took Gaza and Sidon, and after a naval victory over the Phœnicians and Cyprians, made themselves masters of Tyre.

The word of the LORD had now spoken the doom of the unfaithful city. Nebuchadnezzar, returning with a larger force, Hophra was unable or unwilling to encounter him. Jerusalem, again besieged, was compelled to open its gates after holding out fifteen months. Zedekiah and the chief of the population were carried captive to Babylon; the city walls were levelled to the ground; the temple was destroyed; and the throne of David disappeared.

Instead of kissing the rod, as commanded by Him who sent it, the infatuated remnant plunged into a sanguinary and desperate revolt, and finally fled into Egypt, carrying with them the prophet who incessantly rebuked their madness.<sup>2</sup> Hophra received them hospitably, and gave them residences in Migdol (Mendes), Tahpanhes, Memphis, and Pathros.<sup>3</sup>

It has been surmised that some recreant children of Israel, refusing to quit the fleshpots of Egypt under Moses, had founded a permanent Hebrew settlement in Goshen. At all events it was a frequent place of refuge when danger threatened in Palestine; and we may well imagine that the Egyptians were favourably disposed towards the fugitives, both from former connexion and from dread of the Assyrian power.

The miserable Israelites, however, no longer testified against the idols of Egypt. Their wives and daughters burned incense to Neith, "the queen of heaven," and the whole nation sunk into idolatry.<sup>4</sup>

1 Jer. xxxvii. 5.

3 Jer. xlv. 1.

2 Jer. xlii. 15.

4 Jer. xlv. 17.

Jeremiah seems to have lived at Tahpanhes,<sup>1</sup> a place not far within the eastern border, and there he probably wrote the Lamentations which bewail so pathetically the desolation of Jerusalem. "Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water for the destruction of the daughter of my people. The waters have flowed over my head."<sup>2</sup> Some of the later Psalms also seem to borrow their imagery from the overflowing Nile, which rendered the face of nature so unlike the mountains and valleys of Judæa.<sup>3</sup>

Idolatry had now reached its lowest depth in Egypt. A list of eighteen gods on a sarcophagus found near Memphis omitting *Amun*, *Kneph*, and *Phthah*, the conceptions of older philosophy, gives the double crown to Khem, and luxuriates in female divinities.<sup>4</sup> In the presence of these soul-enslaving rites, Jeremiah ceased not to testify the judgment that should overtake his apostate countrymen. He pronounced the doom of their protector in words which at that time must have been received with a burst of incredulity: "I will give Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them that seek his life."<sup>5</sup> Hophra boasted that his power was so immovable that not even a deity could dispossess him of his kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Possibly it was against this pride that Ezekiel was commissioned to send the word from beyond the Euphrates: "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, thou great crocodile that liest in the midst of the waters: that hast said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xliii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lam. iii. 48, 54.

<sup>3</sup> See Ps. lxix., cxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> The tomb which contained this sarcophagus is remarkable for a genuine arch—a thing then unknown in Greece.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. xlv. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. ii. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3.

His overthrow was now nearer than any uninspired observer could foresee. The Greeks had about fifty years before planted a colony at Cyrene,<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of the underground river, which, after supplying moisture to the Oases of the desert, here gushes up in a copious fountain. The soil is so fertile, and the orchards so productive, that some have placed the gardens of the Hesperides in this favoured spot. The colonists, as usual, first conquered and then civilized the native Libyans; the original settlement was followed by a general immigration from all the Grecian states; and eventually five cities were established and united in a league called the Pentapolis.

The growth of this new power was scarcely less menacing to the dynasty of Sais, than to the Libyans themselves. Hophra readily undertook, at their request, to expel this handful of strangers from the shores of Africa. His troops, however, who had never before encountered Greek arms and tactics, were so utterly routed that few returned alive. Incensed at so unusual a defeat, the army revolted from the king, as unworthy of their allegiance. Hophra despatched a favourite officer named Amasis, whom he had promoted from a common soldier, to appease the tumult and reduce the insurgents. While he was expostulating with the mutineers, one of them suddenly placed a helmet on his head and saluted him king. Amasis required little persuasion to lead them against his master, who defended himself with his Greek auxiliaries, but after a fierce conflict, the foreigners giving way, Hophra was taken prisoner and confined in his palace. Amasis was proclaimed king, and subsequently, on the demand of the people, gave his prisoner up to

<sup>1</sup> Now Bômba.

their resentment. Hophra was strangled; his body was buried with his ancestors in the temple of Neith, where the mummies were placed in cells built in the walls, to keep them out of the inundation when the Delta was converted into a sea.

In this account there is reason to think that Herodotus was only partially informed of the circumstances; the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel probably received at this time a more literal fulfilment. Josephus relates that the Assyrian monarch invaded and conquered Egypt, and having put the king of the country to death, appointed another in his stead.<sup>1</sup> A similar statement was made by Megasthenes and Berossus. The monuments, too, show that Amasis was married to a daughter of Psamaticus, the predecessor of Apries, or, as many think, the same person. He was probably, therefore, not of the plebeian origin ascribed to him, but a member of the royal line. Wilkinson concludes that he had been for many years at war with Apries, and perhaps invited the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar, who secured him the throne on condition of paying tribute to Assyria. This would fulfil the predictions of civil warfare and desolation contained in Jer. xlv. and Ezekiel xxix., xxx., especially those which assign the execution of the sentence to "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." Others refer these prophecies to the Persian conquest at a later period; probably both are included, the sentence being partly executed by the prince whose name is connected with it, and partly by the Persians who succeeded to his power.

Amasis enjoyed a long and prosperous reign, so illustrious, both at home and abroad, as to recall the

<sup>1</sup> Ant. x. 9. 7.





glories of the ancient empire. The temples of Upper and Lower Egypt abound in monuments of his wealth and liberality. He was the author of the magnificent propylæum before the temple of his goddess at Sais, and of the grand temple of Isis at Memphis. Thebes also, and other cities, contain memorials of his encouragement of art. The Delta possessing no stone, vast masses were transported from the quarries at Memphis to Sais, where they still remain. Even Syene was not too long a voyage for the enterprise and munificence of the king. A shrine composed of one mass of granite, twenty-one feet nine inches long, and thirteen feet broad, is now lying at Tel el Mai, whither it was brought by Amasis to be erected in the temple at Sais; but after all the cost and labour of the transport, for some superstitious reason the design was not proceeded with.<sup>1</sup>

Amasis was the first to annex the great island of Cyprus, which Necho and other Pharaohs had struggled for, to the Egyptian crown, and he further enriched his country with the commerce of the rising states of Greece. On the death of his first wife<sup>2</sup> he married a native of Cyrene, and used every effort to promote the most friendly relations between the two races. For this object he sent offerings<sup>3</sup> to the temples of Greece, and encouraged the Greeks to

<sup>1</sup> Kenrick, ii. 441.

<sup>2</sup> This lady was buried in the valley of the Queen's tomb at Thebes, and her sarcophagus is now in the British Museum. She was called *Hanes-vaphra*.

<sup>3</sup> Among these offerings was a famous "linen corslet" woven with gold and cotton, then recently introduced from Ethiopia or India; each thread was said to contain 360 filaments.

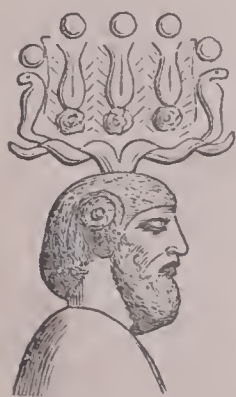
resort to Egypt by permitting them to erect their own altars on its soil. Naucratis receiving a monopoly of the Mediterranean trade, rapidly increased to a flourishing town. Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo now had their proper temples there, built by the citizens of Ægina, Samos, and Miletus, while various states joined in erecting the Hellenium.<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotus, this was the most flourishing epoch of Egypt; and the tombs of private persons bear testimony, by their style and richness, to a general and unusual degree of affluence.

It was during this reign that Thales and Solon came to drink of the fountains of wisdom on the banks of the Nile. They were followed by Hecataeus of Miletus, who visited Thebes, and wrote a valuable history. Pythagoras, also, if he really acquired his philosophy in Egypt, probably arrived in this reign. He was a native of Samos, with whose tyrant, Polycrates, Amasis was on terms of intimate friendship. On observing his friend's uniform prosperity, the Egyptian monarch, "knowing the invidiousness of fortune," advised him to apply a counterpoise, by sacrificing something which he held most dear. Polycrates, agreeing to the proposition, cast his favourite signet-ring into the sea, and then bitterly bewailed its loss. A few days after, a magnificent fish was brought him as a present by the man who had caught it, which, being opened, was found to contain the ring. On receiving this intelligence Amasis sent a herald to Samos, and formally renounced its alliance, lest, in the doom which he now believed to be inevitable, he should have to bewail a

<sup>1</sup> The erection of these temples shows that whatever the philosophers may have pretended as to their origin, the Greeks did not consider the Egyptian deities the same as their own.

friend. So dark and full of misgiving is the wisdom of man, when untaught to repose on the providence of a reconciled Father in heaven! <sup>1</sup>

Amasis was now trembling on the precipice which he foresaw for another. The death of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 561) <sup>2</sup> was speedily followed by the fall of the empire. Cyrus the Persian entering Babylon (B.C. 539) during the impious revelry of Belshazzar, by means of the river, which he had drained of its contents, put an end to the power which had hitherto been the most formidable adversary of Egypt. <sup>3</sup> Its successor, however, proved still more dangerous to



the Pharaohs, whose wealth had long roused the cupidity of their neighbours. Cyrus, extending his arms into Asia Minor, conquered Cræsus king of Lydia, an ally of Amasis, who supported him with a body of troops in vain. Cyprus was soon after seized by the Persians, and Cyrus assumed the Egyptian head-dress, as if already master of the Nile.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, with more probability, affirms that Amasis foresaw the ruin of his ally from the oppression of which he was guilty to his subjects. He was soon after put to a cruel death by the governor of Magnesia, in whose power he had incautiously placed himself.

<sup>2</sup> Nebuchadnezzar is thought to have married an Egyptian princess, another Nitocris, the famous queen of the Babylonians, who changed the course of the Euphrates, and built a bridge over it.—*Kenrick*, ii. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Isa. xxi. 1—9; Jer. li. 31, 39, 58; and Dan. v. It was long objected to the Scripture statement that Nabonedus was the last king of Babylon, and survived the transfer of the empire; but in 1854 Sir H. Rawlinson deciphered an inscription found in the ruins of Um Geer, the ancient "Ur of the Chaldees," from which it appeared that this king had admitted his eldest son, *Belsharezer*, to be co-regent with himself; this prince, being governor of the capital, might well perish in the assault as related by Daniel. This is one instance among many of the surprising manner in which supposed contradictions of Scripture have been removed by more accurate information.



These indications showed that war was determined upon, though hostilities were not actually declared till the fourth year of the son of Cyrus Cambyses, B.C. 530. Herodotus's account of the pretext evidently shows a foregone conclusion. Cambyses (he says) had chosen to demand the "daughter of Pharaoh" in marriage; but Amasis, fearing she would not enjoy the honours of a principal wife, sent Nitetis a daughter of Hophra, instead of his own. Nitetis, disclosing the fraud, urged the king to chastise the man who had deposed and slain her father. Cambyses, ensnared by her beauty, undertook her quarrel, and determined to destroy the offender. The marriage here pretended must have taken place so many years before, that some authorities refer it to Cyrus, making Cambyses the son, instead of the husband, of the princess whose wrongs he avenged.<sup>1</sup> It required little, however, at any time to induce these ancient monarchs to appropriate their neighbours' possessions. Cambyses needed no other provocation than the information he had obtained from Phanes, a Greek officer who had fled from the court of Amasis, on the means of crossing the intervening desert.

Amasis escaping the threatened vengeance by death (B.C. 525), the invasion burst upon the devoted head of his son Psammeticus, called by the Greeks Psammenitus. His reign was short, and the contemporary inscriptions are few: a statue of Phthah in the Vatican is engraved with his name. Cambyses entered on the war with great preparations by sea and land. He made a league with the Cypriots, Phœnicians, Ionians, and Æolians; indeed, the strength of his army was the Greek soldiery. Arrangements were

<sup>1</sup> See the authorities cited in Prideaux's *Connexion*, i. 159.



also concluded with an Arab ruler to supply the troops with water, in skins carried by camels, while passing the desert.

By this means he arrived before Pelusium, and finding it defended by a strong garrison, took advantage of an Egyptian superstition to effect their destruction. A number of cats, dogs, and sheep having been placed in front of the attacking parties, the natives, afraid to discharge a missile upon creatures whose lives were more sacred than their own, suffered the place to be taken without a blow in its defence. Psammenitus, however, coming up with his whole army, a bloody battle ensued. The Greeks on the Egyptian side, incensed at the treachery of Phanes, by whose counsel Cambyses was guided, put his sons to death in the sight of both armies, and horribly quaffed their blood. The Persians, enraged at this atrocity, delivered the attack with so much fury, that the Egyptian forces were broken and scattered. Cambyses pursued them to Memphis, where his heralds, sailing up the Nile on a ship of Mitylene, summoned the city to surrender. The angry populace tore the messenger and his party to pieces; in revenge for this Cambyses, after capturing the place, ordered ten Egyptians of the highest quality to be executed for every life so sacrificed in defiance of the law of nations. The king's eldest son was of the number; and Psammenitus himself, though spared at first, was soon after put to death. From Memphis, the conqueror proceeded to Sais, where he caused the mummy of Amasis to be disinterred and committed to the flames;—an impiety scarcely less odious to his own fire-worshippers than to the deepest feelings of the Egyptians. The whole country, however, submitted panic-stricken to the Persian yoke.

Cambyses, who was undoubtedly a madman, made war upon the religion, no less than the liberties of Egypt. Exasperated by the contempt of the Ethiopians, whose king sent him a bow, bidding him not to think of invading them till he could bend it, he left his Greek auxiliaries in Lower Egypt, and marched with all his Orientals up the valley. At Thebes he detached 50,000 men into the desert to seize the Great Oasis, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This force, being overtaken by the sirocco, perished to a man in the burning sands. The king, continuing his march into Ethiopia, soon exhausted his resources, and was reduced to such straits that, after eating up all the beasts of burden, the soldiers decimated their own ranks, and fed upon human flesh. The bulk of the army perished before the madman consented to retrace his steps.

Arriving in Memphis during a general rejoicing at the *epiphaneia* of Apis, he imagined the populace to be triumphing over his failure, and ordered the magistrates, in spite of their explanations, to be slain. Receiving, however, a similar account from the priests, he demanded to see the deity who condescended thus to show himself in Egypt. At the sight of a black bull he burst into a rage, and hurling his dagger at the beast, wounded it mortally in the thigh. After reviling the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a beast, he had them severely scourged, threatening death to every one that should presume to continue the festival.

Notwithstanding this furious protest against idolatry, the Persian monarch acted as if he were himself a god, while his disposition was more ferocious and his private life more brutal than any beast's. His atrocities belong to the history of

Persia rather than of Egypt. He left Memphis on his return to the East, about three years after the conquest, having first, with strange inconsistency, consulted the oracle of Bytis on the place of his death. Being answered at Ecbatana, he determined to cheat the gods by never passing into Media. In proceeding through Syria, his sword happened to fall from the scabbard as he was mounting his horse, and inflicted a severe wound in the thigh. He was carried to a village, where the injury assumed a threatening aspect: inquiring the name of the place, he was thunderstruck to be told "*Ecbatana*." He died disregarded by his followers, who imputed his last words of caution to the well-known malice and treachery of his nature. The Egyptians enjoyed the double gratification of boasting the truth of their oracle, and of pointing out that Apis had avenged his death by directing the steel to the same portion of his murderer's body.



Cambyses was succeeded by Darius, under whom Egypt was permitted to enjoy its full civil and religious usages, subject only to the payment of a tribute of £170,000 per annum. The government was administered by native kings, with the title of *melek*; while that of Pharaoh was assumed by the Persian sovereign. Darius was himself an idolater, of the Sabian kind, and was therefore tolerant of the idols of Egypt. His name is found surmounted by the goose and sun of the Pharaohs; and he was the only Persian sovereign who shared their religious titles during his life, and their divine honours after death. In religion, as in morals, it is the first departure from the truth which calls forth rebuke:

the further men wander the less they are inclined to quarrel with the errors of others. An abandoned criminal is little scrupulous about his associates, and an open idolater has no occasion to be sensitive at the introduction of new gods. Darius accepted the Egyptian idols among his patron divinities, and the Egyptians reckoned Darius in the number of their celebrated lawgivers. They even seem to have consoled themselves with the belief that this Persian was a son of Menes! There was a limit, however, to such courtesies. When the Persian monarch proposed to erect his own statue at Memphis, in front of that of Rameses the Great, the priests remonstrated. This was the great Sesostris who subdued the Scythians, while Darius had failed in his expedition against the same people. The king could only submit, with the remark, that if he lived as long as Sesostris he might hope to equal his exploits.

The first two meleks were Amasis and his son Nephra, under whom the canal was thoroughly opened out from Bubastis to the Lake at the head of the Red Sea, and the latter sweetened by the influx of Nile water. The third melek, Manduophth, taking advantage of the shock inflicted on the Persian power by the defeat of Xerxes at Marathon, assumed the sovereignty of Upper and Lower Egypt; but this being speedily subdued, the country was subjected to a far heavier yoke.

Xerxes, who had embraced the tenets of the Magi recently revived by Zoroaster, treated the idolaters with a severity provoked alike by their insubordination and their fanaticism. His brother Achæmenes, being appointed satrap, ruled with a rod of iron. The fleet was employed in his war upon Greece,



and the Calasirians and Hermotybian were obliged to serve on board as marines. The Egyptians assisted with their papyrus ropes in the construction of the bridge of boats, by which the Persian forces crossed the Hellespont, B. C. 480, and served as swordsmen in the battle of Platea. The signal failure of those preparations, and the destruction of the mighty host which had threatened the liberties of Greece, suggested the ambition of recovering their own; and the intelligence of Xerxes' death was followed by a general revolt.

Marus the son of Psammeticus, who ruled the city of Marœa, not far from where Alexandria was afterwards built, headed the Libyans (as the people to the west of the Nile were called), and proclaimed himself king. He defeated the Persians in a great battle at Papremis, near the head of the Delta, where Marus slew Achæmenes with his own hand. The Persians fled to Memphis, and Marus had recourse to the Athenian fleet at Cyprus. With 72,000 bushels of wheat he bought the assistance of forty triremes, which, entering the Nile, destroyed the Persian ships, and sailed up to Memphis. Here they were joined by the Egyptians under Marus, and a prince of Sais named Amyrtæus.

In a combined attack on the Persians the town was taken, but the remainder of the garrison held out in the citadel, called the White Wall, till relieved three years after. Themistocles, who had taken refuge from his enemies at the Persian court, was commanded by Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther) to take command of the succours; but preferring death to fighting against his countrymen, he destroyed himself by poison. The expedition was then undertaken by Megabazus, who, arriving before Memphis with a large army, defeated the allies with great slaughter.

Marus retired to an island of the Nile called Prosopitis, where the Athenian fleet defending his position, they held out for a year and a half against all the power of Persia. At last, by cutting fresh channels, the water was drawn away from the fleet, and a passage into the island laid open. Marus then capitulated, but the Athenians, 6000 in number, setting fire to their ships, determined to sell their lives as dearly as the Spartans had at Thermopylæ. Alarmed at their desperation, the Persians agreed to give them a safe conduct into Greece, and on these terms this formidable revolt was finally subdued. Five years after, B. C. 456, Marus and his companions were perfidiously delivered into the power of the king's mother, who caused him to be crucified and the others beheaded, in revenge for the death of Achæmenes.

Meantime Amyrtæus maintained his independence in the marshes for many years; and in the reign of Darius II., emerging from his retreat, he headed a general insurrection, and completely mastered the Persians. He reigned for six years as king of Egypt, and his rule constitutes the Twenty-seventh Dynasty of Manetho. According to Herodotus, his son Pausiris succeeded him by favour of the Persians, implying that Egypt was again reduced to their yoke; but no similar name is found in Manetho. Mr. Kenrick suggests that this Amyrtæus was the son of Pausiris, and grandson of the prince of the same name who fought in alliance with Marus, nearly forty years before. He restored the temple of Chons at Thebes, and left his name in the Oasis of El Kharzeh. His body is thought to have been interred in the magnificent sarcophagus of green breccia now in the British

Museum, which some have supposed to be the coffin of Alexander the Great.

The next Dynasty (the Twenty-ninth) reigned at Mendes, a city on the same branch of the Nile with Tanis and Sais, and probably the Migdol of Scripture.<sup>1</sup> The Persians being now fully occupied with the revolt of the Medes, Egypt was left to play an unimportant part in the internal disputes of the Greek states. During this brief period, the hawk-headed god Mandu usurped the honours of Amun-ra, and was even substituted on some of his monuments at Thebes.

The Thirtieth and last of the native dynasties arose at Sebennytus, Manetho's own town, situated on the middle branch of the Nile. In the time of Nectanebo the first of this line, the Persian king Artaxerxes Mnemon determined on a vigorous effort for the complete reduction of Egypt. The Athenians were now leagued with the king, and 20,000 Greek mercenaries accompanied the Persian commander. They entered the Nile by the Mendesian mouth, which was less guarded than the Pelusiac, but dissensions between the commanders delayed their operations till the inundation obliged them to retire. Nectanebo reigned eighteen years without further molestation, during which Egypt was again open to the scientific world, and was visited by Eudoxus and Plato.

The next king, Tachos, was called on at the opening of his reign to resist a fresh attack from the Persians. As Athens had gone over to his enemies, Tachos had no difficulty in securing the assistance of Sparta, who sent him 1000 troops under their king Agesilaus. When the Egyptians, however, saw a little old man of

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xiv. 2; Jer. xliv. 1.

seventy seated on the grass, who would accept only the plainest food, and bade them give their sweetmeats and precious perfumes to his Helots, they despised him as unworthy to command their armies. Tachos entrusted his fleet to Chabrias, an Athenian, and commanded in chief himself. He lost the affections of his subjects, however, by plundering the temples, and imposing new taxes for the war; and when he had advanced into Palestine, with the view of meeting the attack on the enemy's ground, instead of his own, the troops in Egypt proclaimed his nephew Nectanebo king. Agesilaus, taught to consider the people before the ruler, transferred his aid to the new king; and the old one, deserted by the army in Palestine, fled into Persia and made his peace with the tyrant.

Nectanebo was for some time opposed by a rival Mendesian chief at the head of 100,000 men; but having vanquished him by the aid of the Spartan tactics, he reigned for some years in tranquillity. In the meantime, Artaxerxes II., during whose long reign Egypt had maintained its independence, was succeeded by his son Ochus, who made his way to the throne over the dead bodies of upwards of eighty murdered relations. This king renewed the conquest of Egypt B. C. 350. After losing a large part of his army in the famous lake of Serbonis, he reached Pelusium at the same time that an expedition of Greeks and Persians sailed up the Nile against Memphis. Nectanebo had collected an army of 100,000 men, of whom one fifth were Greeks, the same proportion Libyans, and the rest Egyptians.





With these he held the border towns and passes, but was ruined, as his father had been, by refusing the advice of the Greek generals. Had he remained guarding the frontier, they would have taken care of the capital, but, alarmed at the demonstration against the metropolis, he suddenly fell back to its defence. The Greeks at Pelusium, finding themselves deserted, made terms for their own safety, and delivered up the town. The enemy poured in without opposition; and Ochus, treating those who submitted with kindness, threatened all opponents with a vengeance which his sanguinary disposition rendered doubly formidable. The terrified Egyptians once more submitted their necks to the Persian yoke, and Nectanebo fled into Ethiopia.

With him fell the Egyptian monarchy for ever. He was the last of the Pharaohs: the last native that ever reigned in a land which for three and twenty centuries had boasted the purity of its royal blood, and sustained its patriotism by an extraordinary hatred and contempt of foreigners. All the bitterness and humiliation of defeat were now to be endured in company with the most miserable sufferings. The barbarous Persian dismantled the cities, plundered the temples, and gave up the people to slaughter. The public registers were carried away into Persia. The sacred Apis was sacrificed to an ass, and the miserable priests were compelled to eat his flesh. This last outrage was provoked by a pun upon the tyrant's name, made, as the Greeks supposed, in ridicule of his stupidity. The Egyptians called him Ochus *the ass*; but they were in no condition to jest: they saw in this hated foreigner an incarnation of Typhon, whose symbol was the ass; and his impious sacrifice was

to them a new subjugation of their great god to the spirit of evil.

One last revenge was open : the tyrant's life could yet be reached by an Egyptian hand. Bajoas, his physician, a man of extraordinary influence in the Persian court, was one of the vanquished race ; a fact more flattering to Egyptian art than to Oriental sagacity. By his means, it is said, the registers were restored to the temples, but not before he had poisoned the tyrant with all his sons, save the youngest, whom he reserved to govern under his own control. Finding this prince impracticable, he removed him by similar means, and transferred the throne to Darius Codomanus. For him, too, the remorseless Egyptian had prepared the death cup ; but the king, discovering the treason, compelled him to swallow his own potion, surviving himself to be the last Persian king, and yield up his life and his empire at the feet of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

At this stage the history of Ancient Egypt terminates. Its native dynasties have come to an end, and the land has ever since been under the dominion of strangers. The long rivalry with Palestine was ended for ever. Jerusalem had been rebuilt, and her temple restored, under the same king who began to execute the Divine wrath upon her ancient opponent. The sacrifice and the oblation had been renewed on Mount Moriah for 150 years when these last plagues were poured out on the field of Zoan. The sweet singers of Israel were telling it out among the heathen that the LORD is King, when the last pretender to the blood of Menes hid his dishonoured head in the recesses of Ethiopia.

The voice of prophecy was no longer heard in Judæa; the canon of the Old Testament was closed; there ensued again the silence which had preceded its first utterance, and which was only to be broken by the cry of the Baptist, "Repént ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Meantime "they that feared the Lord and thought upon his Name" would speak often one to another of the wrath they had seen poured out on the idolater, as well as of the mercies renewed to his people. From the heights of Zion they could look towards the wasted fields and ruined temples of Egypt, and recall the words of inspiration now so minutely fulfilled. A century and a half before Psamaticus, when Thebes was in her glory, and Chaldees, Persians, and Macedonians were only wild hordes of the desert, Joel had begun the warning, "Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land. But Judah shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation."<sup>1</sup> A hundred years later Isaiah renewed the burden: "The Egyptians I will give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts. Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they?"<sup>2</sup> The terrible picture had been drawn by Ezekiel, when the destroyer was somewhat nearer at hand, yet still before the long and flourishing reign of Amasis: "I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is

<sup>1</sup> Joel iii. 19, 20.      <sup>2</sup> Isa. xix. 4, 11: but see the whole chapter.

mine own, and I have made it for myself. And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the LORD, because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel. And the sword shall come upon Egypt, and great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. And they shall know that I am the LORD, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and when all her helpers shall be destroyed. Thus saith the LORD God: I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph; *and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt*: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt. And I will make Pathros desolate, and will set fire in Zoan, and will execute judgments in No. And I will pour my fury upon Sin, the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No. And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain, and No shall be rent asunder, and Noph shall have distresses daily. The young men of Aven and of Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity. At Tehaphnehes also the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt: and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her: as for her, a cloud shall cover her, and her daughter shall go into captivity. Thus will I execute judgments in Egypt: and they shall know that I am the LORD.”<sup>1</sup>

These denunciations, like many others in all ages, were doubtless disregarded and despised by those to whom they were addressed; but they were now fulfilled to the letter: and contrasting this desolation of Egypt with the re-establishment of the rem-

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 3, 6; xxx. 4, 8, 13—19.



nant of Judah, we may conclude our review with the Apostle's weighty aphorism, "The LORD knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished."<sup>1</sup> The day will come when the world, of which idolatrous Egypt was the type, will in like manner suffer its predicted doom; and of the new heaven and the new earth, the joy and glory will be the holy city, New Jerusalem, "coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. xxi. 1, 2.

# APPENDIX.

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## THE ROSETTA STONE.

*Greek Text translated by Messrs. Hale, Jones, and Morton, for the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania.*

“IN the reign of the youthful king who received the kingdom from his father, lord of diadems,<sup>1</sup> greatly glorious, who has established Egypt, and pious towards the gods is superior to his enemies, who has set right the life of man, lord of feasts of thirty years, like Hephaistus<sup>2</sup> the great, king like the Sun, the great king of both the Upper and Lower countries, offspring of the gods Philopators, whom Hephaistus approved, to whom the Sun gave victory, the living image of Zeus,<sup>3</sup> son of the Sun, Ptolemy the ever living, beloved of Phtha, in the ninth year;—Actus the son of Actus, being priest of Alexander, of the gods Soters, of the gods Adelphi, of the gods Euergetæ, of the gods Philopators, and of the god Epiphanes Eucharistus; the Athlophorus of Berenice<sup>4</sup> Euergetes being Pyrrha, daughter of Philinus; the canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, Areia daughter of Diogenes; the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator being Irene daughter of Ptolemy; of the month Xandicus the fourth, but, according to the Egyptians, the eighteenth of Mechir—Decree.

1 *Demotic*, “Uræi;” the royal serpent or asp.

2 *Demotic*, “Phtha.”

3 *Demotic*, “Ammon.”

4 *Demotic*, “bearing the ensign of dominion before Berenice.”

“The chief priests and prophets,<sup>1</sup> and those who enter the sanctuary for the arraying<sup>2</sup> of the gods, and the pterophoræ<sup>3</sup> and sacred scribes,<sup>4</sup> and all the other priests who were come from the temples throughout the land to Memphis, into the presence of the king, for the ceremonial of the reception by Ptolemy the ever living beloved of Phtha, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, of the crown which he received of his father, being gathered together in the temple at Memphis on the day aforesaid—decreed,

“Since that king Ptolemy, the ever living beloved of Phthah, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, offspring of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, gods Philopators, has in many things benefited the temples and those connected with them, and all those living under his sway, that being a god born of a god and a goddess, like Horus the son of Isis and Osiris, who avenged his father Osiris, of a liberal disposition towards the gods, he has dedicated to the temples revenues both of money and provisions, and has undergone great expenses in order to bring back Egypt to quietness, and to establish religious observances with all the means in his power, he has shown kindness; of the taxes and imposts existing in Egypt, some he has taken away entirely, and others he has lightened, that the people and all others might be in prosperity under his rule; the crown debts which those in Egypt and in the rest of his kingdom owed, being very considerable, he has remitted to all, and those shut up in prison (for such debts), and those lying under accusation for a long time,

1 *Demotic*; “seers.”

2 *Demotic*, “to put vestments on.”

3 *Demotic*, “scribes proclaiming glory.”

4 *Demotic*, “scribes of the double house of life.”

he released from the claims against them ; also he commanded the revenues of the temples and the contributions of provisions and money made to them yearly, and in like manner the just portions of the gods from the vineyards and gardens, and what else belonged to the gods in the time of his father, should remain upon the same basis : he commanded also concerning the priests that they should give nothing more for graduation fee<sup>1</sup> than was imposed up to the first year of his father's reign ; he released also those of the sacred tribes from the voyage yearly down to Alexandria ; also he ordered the collection of naval supplies not to be made ; of the contributions of fine linen cloth made in the temples for the royal palace he remitted two thirds ; what had been neglected in former times he restored to proper order, taking care that what was accustomed should be performed for the gods as was fitting ; likewise also he allotted justice to all, as Hermes the twice great ; he ordered also that those who returned, both of the soldiers and others of the opposition in the times of the disturbance, on coming back, be kept in possession of their property ; he took care also that there should go out forces of horse and foot, and ships against those invading Egypt both by sea and land, undergoing great expenses both of money and provisions that the temples and all the people of Egypt might be in safety ; being present also at Lycopolis in Busiris, which had been taken and fortified against a siege by a very abundant supply of arms and all other munitions, since for a long time the rebellion had existed among the impious ones who gathered there, who had done to the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt much evil, and laying siege

<sup>1</sup> *Demotic*, "dues for appointments as priest."



to it, he surrounded it with embankments and ditches and walls, very remarkable;<sup>1</sup> the great rise which the Nile made in the eighth year (and it was accustomed to flood the plains) he restrained at many places, securing the mouths of the canals; expending on these of money no small amount, and stationing horse and foot soldiers to guard them; in a little time he took the city by storm, and all the impious in it he destroyed, as Hermes<sup>2</sup> and Horus the son of Isis and Osiris, overpowered those who in the same parts had revolted in former times; the ringleaders also of the revolters in his father's reign who had troubled the country and outraged the temples, being at Memphis the avenger of his father and of his own crown, all these he punished justly at the time when he was there for his performance of the rites proper for the reception of the crown; he remitted also the debts owed in the temples to the palace up to the eighth year, amounting to no small quantity of provisions and money; likewise, also, the value of the linen cloths<sup>3</sup> due which had not been given into the palace, and of those which had been given in the replacement of such as differed from the pattern up to the same date; he released the temples also from the appointed artaba per aroura of the sacred land, and in like manner as to the ceramium per aroura of the vineyard; to Apis and Mnevis he made many gifts, as also to the other sacred animals in Egypt, having much better care than the kings before him for what belonged to them always; and giving bountifully and

<sup>1</sup> *Demotic*, "he gave a closing of canals, those necessary to bring the flood to said city to give it over to trouble."

<sup>2</sup> *Demotic*, "Thoth."

<sup>3</sup> *Demotic*, "garments."

nobly what was proper for their funerals, with the dues for the support of their respective worships, with sacrifices, and panaguries, and the other usual rites; the prerogatives of the temples and of Egypt he has carefully kept upon the same basis, agreeably to the laws, and has adorned the Apieum<sup>1</sup> with costly works, expending upon it of gold and silver and precious stones no small amount, and has founded temples, and shrines, and altars;<sup>2</sup> what had need of repair he restored, having the disposition of a beneficent god in what concerns the divinity; learning by means of additional inquiry their state, he has restored the most honoured of the temples in his dominion as is right; in return for which things the gods have given him health, victory, strength, and all other good things; the kingdom being assured to him and his children to all time with good fortune; it has seemed good to the priests of all the temples of the land to decree, to augment greatly all honours now paid to the ever living king Ptolemy, beloved of Phtha, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, and likewise those of his parents the gods Philopators, and of his ancestors gods Euergetai, and of the gods Adelphi, and those of the gods Soters; to erect of the ever living king Ptolemy, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, an image in each temple in the most conspicuous place, which shall be entitled "Ptolemy the defender of Egypt,<sup>3</sup>" near which shall stand the god to whom the temple belongs,<sup>4</sup> presenting to him a conquering weapon; which arrangements shall be made in the manner of the

<sup>1</sup> *Demotic*, "habitation of Apis."

<sup>2</sup> *Demotic*, "he gave addition of new altars of the altars superior to those in the temples."

<sup>3</sup> *Demotic*, "Beki."

<sup>4</sup> *Demotic*, "the god who is lord of the gate."

Egyptians; also for the priests to perform a service before these images three times each day, and put on them the sacred adorning, and perform the other accustomed rites, as for the other gods in the eponymic panagyries; to set up<sup>1</sup> for king Ptolemy, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, offspring of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, gods Philopators, a statue and a shrine,<sup>2</sup> both gilded, in each of the temples, and to place this in the sanctuaries with the other shrines, and in the great panagyries in which processions of the shrines take place, for the shrine of the god Epiphanes Eucharistus to go out with them;<sup>3</sup> that it may be well marked, both now and for future time, to place upon the shrine the ten golden ornaments of the king, to which shall be affixed an asp<sup>4</sup> similar to the adorning of asp-like ornaments which are upon the other shrines, in the midst of which shall be the crown called Schent,<sup>5</sup> which he wore when he entered the temple at Memphis to perform for him the rites proper for the assumption of the crown; to place upon the platform of the ornaments about the aforesaid crown ten golden phylacteries, announcing, "This is the shrine of the king who made illustrious both the Upper country and the Lower;" and since the thirtieth of Mesore, in which the birthday festivities of the king are celebrated, and in like manner the seventeenth of Mechir, in which he received the kingdom from his father, have been named after him in the temples, which certainly are harbingers of much good to all; to

<sup>1</sup> *Demotic*, "consecrate."

<sup>2</sup> *Demotic*, "a divine image and a shrine of gold."

<sup>3</sup> *Demotic*, "that it be with glory proclaimed on high."

<sup>4</sup> *Demotic*, "royal uræi."

<sup>5</sup> *Demotic*, "the double crown, one of Upper, and the other of Lower Egypt."

celebrate these days (the seventeenth and thirtieth) a feast and panagry in the temples of Egypt monthly, and to perform in them sacrifices and libations and what else is proper as in the other panagries; to give the usual public notices to all for what is to be offered in the temples; to celebrate a feast and a panagry for the ever living and beloved of Phtha, king Ptolemy, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, each year throughout the temples and all the land, from the new moon of Thoth for five days, in which also they shall bear garlands,<sup>1</sup> performing sacrifices and libations and what else is proper; to call the priests of the temples of the land also priests of the god Epiphanes Eucharistus, in addition to the other names which they had from the gods whom they serve, and to inscribe on all their documents and on the seal rings on their hands''<sup>2</sup> their priesthood to him; that it be lawful to the rest, private persons,<sup>3</sup> to celebrate the feast and set up the aforesaid shrine, having it in their houses, performing what is right in the feasts both monthly and yearly: in order that it may be known<sup>4</sup> why the people of Egypt magnify and honour the god Epiphanes Eucharistus the king, as is just; to write this decree upon a column of hard stone, in sacred, and enchorial and Greek letters,<sup>5</sup> and place it in each of temples of the first, second, and third orders near the image of the ever living king."

<sup>1</sup> *Hieroglyphics*, "on their heads."

<sup>2</sup> *Demotic*, "On a ring on their hands in addition to the others on their hands."

<sup>3</sup> *Demotic* and *hieroglyphic*, "Purifying themselves."

<sup>4</sup> *Demotic*, "with glory proclaimed on high."

<sup>5</sup> *Hieroglyphic*, "writing of the gods." *Dem.*, "in divine writing, in writing in the manner of the multitude, and in Greek writing."



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